BLOOD LIBEL

Anti-Americanism and Genocide in the Kosovo War

Bardhyl Mahmuti

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Mitrovica e Jugut/ Južna Kosovska Mitrovica
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Blood Libel: Anti-Americanism and Genocide in the Kosovo War

Blood Libel: Anti-Americanism and Genocide in the Kosovo War is about plan and implementation of genocide against the Albanians of Kosovo and how that genocide was denied and deflected by the Milosevic regime and its supporters in the West. The book discusses the social and historical context that led to the engagement of a number of anti-American intellectuals in assisting Serbian Security Services by disseminating official and unofficial propaganda. These individuals' motives were embedded in particular political and ideological positions that framed the military intervention designed to stop Serbia's genocidal policies against the Albanians in Kosovo as an attempt to spread American imperialism in Europe.

Anti-Americanism mobilized communists, socialists, social-democrats, and neo-fascists, historians and political scientists, philosophers and sociologists, journalists and publicists, from both the left and the right in the defense of Europe from American imperialism. In deploying this defense, the Belgrade regime and its friends in the West used a number of strategies both before and after the American-led NATO intervention: they denied the genocide, minimized the number of atrocities, forced exile, and murders, and finally, claimed that the Albanians were criminals who had murdered not only Serbs, but their own people. The most insidious of these strategies was designed to divert attention from Serbian war crimes with accusations that the Albanians had engaged in human organ trafficking.

The stories about organ trafficking defied all logic; while accusing Albanians of horrific crimes, the narratives were so unlikely as to

be ridiculous. Despite the absurdity of these claims, they were taken seriously enough to result in domestic and international investigations, none of which found any evidence to support them. In spite of the fact that several investigations exonerated the Albanians, these stories are still in circulation among some political groups both in and outside of Serbia.

This scenario seemed familiar. There were baseless accusations of monstrous crimes that defied logic. There were investigations that found no evidence of wrongdoing. Finally, there was the persistence of these stories in spite of all the evidence to the contrary and their use as a justification for racial hatred, violence, and ultimately, genocide.

This was a new setting for an old story. The blood libel is the recurring false narrative that Jews murder Christian babies and use their blood to make matzos for Passover. The accusation was used at various times throughout Europe as a pretext for the torture, murder, and exile of Jews. Periodically, Christian church officials and others would investigate these accusations and dismiss them as unfounded, and yet this accusation was revived wherever anti-Semites found fertile ground, fueling the hatred that made violence possible, palatable, and inevitable, most recently in Nazi Germany.

Students of history are all too aware of the way in which the blood libel was used to justify violence against the Jews. The allegation of human organ trafficking is Kosovo's blood libel--fantastical unfounded accusations of monstrous crimes, the purpose of which was to distract public opinion from Serbian atrocities and justify a level of violence against the Albanians that defies imagination. The war is over, but the blood libel and other discourses against the Albanians of Kosovo still circulate among some factions in Serbia and in the West. The continued existence of these false narratives has made it possible for many participants in the Serbian plan for genocide to evade punishment and occupy official positions in the new government of Serbia.

Jane Banks, Ph.D.
Language editor of the English edition of the book

Foreword

In 2008, three weeks after Kosovo's declaration of independence, Carla Del Ponte, a past prosecutor for the International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia, published a book, *Hunt: Me and the War Criminals,* which had an incendiary effect. In response to her book, media reports focused on one claim: that the Kosovo Liberation Army was a "joint criminal enterprise that had abducted more than 300 Serbs, Roma, Albanians and people from other ethnic groups from whom vital organs were removed and sold to clinics abroad." These allegations mobilized all parties who were involved in denouncing NATO's military intervention against Serbia.

Unfortunately, people were all too willing to accept Ponte's indictment at face value. In my book, I hope to provide an analysis of the specific historical context from which these accusations emerged and explain how, why, and by whom the human organ trafficking affair was contrived

Shedding light on the context of Ponte's allegations (and their uncritical reception by diverse audiences) enables us to see the objectives of Ponte and her adherents. In this book, we will come to understand how these motives are embedded in particular political and ideological positions, especially of those who saw the military intervention for the termination of genocidal policies in Kosovo as an attempt to justify American imperialism in Europe. Anti-Americanism mobilized communists, socialists, social-democrats, and neo-fascists, historians and political scientists, philosophers and sociologists, journalists and publicists, from both the left and the right in the defense of Europe from American intervention.

Ponte's accusations did little to illuminate the tragic reality faced by the Albanians of Kosovo and instead framed the issue apolitically as an act of organized crime. This deflection worked effectively as a strategy to conceal the traces of genocidal crime.

In order to unmask the maneuvers used by those who deny the genocide in Kosovo, we must first understand the international conventions that constitute the legal basis of international criminal law in determining what is or is not genocide. This is essential in order to demonstrate how ethnic cleansing, sexual violence and killings, and the physical and biological abuse of the Albanians of Kosovo aiming at their wholesale or partial destruction, constituted genocide. This enables us to see the ways in which the concealment of criminal evidence and the denial of the government's power to annihilate the Albanians of Kosovo is an inseparable part of a system that aims at the obliteration of the truth about the genocide.

The Milosevic regime, aware that the killing of innocent civilians during the armed conflict was mobilizing international institutions in the region as well as thousands of nongovernmental human rights organizations, applied a "new" strategy during the Kosovo war. In this maneuver, the ones to blame for the killing of innocent civilians were the Albanians. To support this grand design, the Serbian state security compiled a paper called "The White Book: The Terrorism of the Albanian separatists in Kosovo and Metohija", which was published in English and French in September 1998. In a strategy that has been used successfully by countless political groups, this defamatory material was disseminated by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs "free of charge" to significant institutions dealing with international relations, state institutions of UN member countries, international media, university libraries, and important public figures from different intellectual backgrounds.

A version of this *White Book* was republished by the Milosevic regime in 1999 and 2000. In 2001 and 2003 it underwent changes to make it more persuasive to international political audiences, that is,

the book was modified, enlarged, and republished by the new regime in Belgrade. Continuing this strategy, many stories were published that purported to describe the killing of civilians and the ones responsible for killing them. For this reason the first three chapters of Part One of my book, dealing with the issue of genocide in Kosovo are dedicated to the three cases of civilian homicides which gained the most publicity in the media: "The Klecka Case," "The Panda Bar Case," and "The Recak Case." A careful examination of these three cases together with the killings that occurred during the operation "Horseshoe" demonstrate that the consequences of the Kosovo war resulted from the policy of genocide against Albanians that was implemented by the Serbian state.

Part one of the book explains the social and historical context that led to the engagement of a number of anti-American intellectuals in assisting Serbian Security Services to serve the aims of the regime by disseminating official and unofficial propaganda.

Part two of the book, dedicated to the regime's strategies for marketing Serbian propaganda, deals with its portrayal of Albanian society as feudal, organized in clans. This model was used by the Milosevic regime as a foundation for its interpretation of the events in Kosovo. Closely related to the labeling of the Albanian society as a "clan society," the notion of the "Albanian mafia" was also developed to conflate Albanians' political aspirations with organized crime. Unfortunately, this stigmatization of the KLA (Kosovo Liberation Army) as a "mafia" organization had its effect in anti-American intellectual circles. As we shall see, writings from Xavier Raufer's book *The Albanian Mafia: a Threat to Europe,* published in 2000, all the way to Pierre Péan's book titled *Kosovo: a "Just" War for a Mafia State,* published in 2013, framed the civil rights struggle of the Albanian people in Kosovo as a war to assume control of illegal drug trade routes, prostitution, stolen vehicles while simultaneously portraying the Serbs as victims of American imperialist aggression.

The effect of the *White Books* was indisputable. A simple search of the Internet reveals that in the French language alone one can find over ten million results that present Kosovo as a "Mafia paradise." The scale of the regime's ideological hegemony has developed to the extent that well-known movie director Emir Kusturica, of Serbian-Muslim origin, declared in a lecture delivered to students of the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Nis that, "Recently many movies about Serbia and the Serbs were filmed and these [were] bad movies, based on fictitious events have influenced the world to give Serbs a dark image, being a genocidal nation. This is vicious propaganda!"[1] Out of the many films that focused on the events in Kosovo, Kusturica focused exclusively on Hollywood; specifically movies starring Richard Gere, Penelope Cruz and Angelina Jolie. "Although they are great Hollywood movie stars, the movies are very bad, catastrophic, not to mention Angelina Jolie's movie *In the Land of Blood and Honey*. These are all failed movies, because you cannot create a great artwork on the basis of false facts!" said Kusturica.[2]

This world-renowned director, a two times laureate of the Cannes Film Festival, stressed that Kosovo is a topic worthy of literature and films but that so far nothing accurate had been done. He announced his intention to film a movie about human organ trafficking in Kosovo, which he said is one of the most important and most brutal events of this century, and a powerful indicator that society is returning to "Paganism."[3]

I am convinced that by the end of this book the reader will be able to see whether the films that Kusturica derides as "really bad" are fictitious, or if the reality is far more tragic than what has been reflected in films so far.

In this book you will find horrific photos and descriptions of terrifying events. These are not presented to illustrate how evil those who committed

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[1] Vesti, *Kusturica planira film o trgovini organima na Kosovu* (Kosturica plans to shoot a film about human organs trafficing in Kosovo), April, 2, 2013 http://www.balkaninsight.com/rs/article/kusturica-planira-film-o-trgovini-organima-na-kosovu

[2] Ibid.

[3] Alo.rs, *Kusturica: Narednih godina snimaću film o trgovinu organima!*, March 31, 2013 http://www.alo.rs/vesti/aktuelno/kusturica-narednih-godina-snimacu-film-o-trgovinu-organima/14724

genocide in Kosovo were. Rather, the depictions and photos of these events are presented in the context of the *debate* over genocide in Kosovo and as a response to "deniers" who, like deniers of the Holocaust of World War II, say that, "It didn't happen." Emir Kusturica is absolutely right when he says that Kosovo is a topic worthy of literature and film. Writers interested in this issue will find in my book good source material for future endeavors. I would hope that even Kusturica, if he were to read this book, would be convinced that a great artwork cannot be created with false arguments and fabricated materials.[1]

I hope my book will illuminate the forces behind the great libel about illegal trafficking in human organs in Kosovo, reveal the perpetrators of the murder of civilians in Kosovo, and reveal the truth about the crimes attributed to the KLA.

Throughout the book I avoid references to Albanian sources. This does not imply that these sources are less reliable in comparison to other sources, but rather aims to eliminate the accusation of bias in research and the likelihood that this analysis will be seen as a clash of two interpretations: the Albanian interpretation of what happened in Kosovo versus the Serbian interpretation. It is my hope that the reader will abandon an uncritical acceptance of the "Serbian truth" of the events in Kosovo, and look with a more discerning and skeptical eye. To that end, the focus will be mostly on an examination of the Serbian argument and the challenge to that argument by evidence from Serbian non-governmental organizations and Serbian intellectuals who dissented from the policy of the genocide in Kosovo.

The Author

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[1] Kosticura might do well to consider the case of the American director D.W. Griffith. His film, *The Birth of the Nation*, from a book by Thomas Dixon called *The Klansman; An Historical Romance of the Ku Klux Klan*, about the South after the American Civil War was well-received at the time of its opening. Now, the film is shown in university film courses across the U.S. as vicious racist propaganda, and Griffith's name is synonymous with bigotry in the history of American Cinema.

PART ONE
THE GENOCIDE IN KOSOVO

CHAPTER ONE

PROLOGUE TO CHAPTER ONE

The terrorists of the so-called Kosovo Liberation Army snatched eleven year-old Jovanna from her mother and grandmother. They raped her right in front of wounded Serbs, tied up and unable to help her. They raped her in front of her mother and grandmother; they tortured her horribly, and in the end they burned little Jovana in the Limestone Kiln in Klecka!

Her mother screamed in terror! She died calling out Jovana's name. That is why even the Albanian criminals knew the name of the little girl before she was thrown in fire and burned alive. The grandmother's heart was destroyed out of agony… and then she died too.

When we arrived at the scene all that was left of Jovana's body was her hand, still smoking from the fire. The rest of her body had been carbonized completely, while her small hand appeared to be asking for help or greeting her mother and grandmother.

Since that day until now I've been searching for her last name, but all in vain!"

Slavko Nikic, Nulta Krvna Grupa, p. 10-11

I hope that by the end of this chapter readers will be able to judge for themselves the validity of Serbian police Colonel Slavko Nikic's description of one of the most publicized cases from the Kosovo war. I will let the reader assess whether Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) soldiers were the ones who killed, mutilated and massacred innocent people or whether the story was manufactured and distributed to the media in order to distract attention from genuine war crimes.

The Limestone Crematorium

August, 1998

At this time, images and news from the war in Kosovo were the main focus of mainstream media around the world. Albanian settlements in flame, thousands killed, tens of thousands wounded, women raped, hundreds of thousands of civilians displaced. These stories were alarmingly resonant of scenes from the wars in Bosnia and Croatia. Stories asking for the end the killing machinery of the Milosevic regime were more and more frequent, condemning the Hitler-like national socialist policy of Milosevic, and urgently asking for military intervention by NATO in order to avoid a recurrence of the Srebrenica Genocide.

On August 26th, between the villages of Topilla and Grejcec, the Serbian armed forces killed eleven and wounded three members of the Asllani family who were driving in a tractor, fleeing from the war zones, from the village of Rance. Out of the eleven killed, eight were children aged six to thirteen years old (Albiona Asllani, born in 1998, Antigona Asllani - 1997, Xhafer Asllani - 1995, Shpend Asllani - 1993, Luljeta Asllani - 1991, Ejup Asllani - 1988, Lumnije Asllani - 1986, Burim Asllani - 1985) and three were women (Ajshe Asllani - 1971, Halide Asllani - 1968, Jalldyze Asllani - 1934).[1]

This massacre had wide coverage in the world press and elicited strong reactions from various international human rights organizations. In this chapter I will mostly focus on the response of UNICEF.

The official spokesman of UNICEF (Organization of the United Nations for the protection of children), Patrick McCormick, declared that "The massacre of the eleven members of an Albanian family, eight of whom were children, caused alarm and indignation in our organization..."[2]

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[1] Remembering the Asllani familly members from Rance http://kk.rks-gov.net/shtime/News/PËRKUJTOHEN-ANËTARËT-E-FAMILJES-ASLLANI-TË-RANCËS.aspx

[2] Qendra për Informim e Kosovës – Kosova Information Center, Prishtina, 31 August 1998, daily inormer No. 2167 B.

The day after this murder, faced with diplomatic repercussions and the threat of significant reaction from international institutions, and in order to neutralize negative international public opinion, pro-Serbian propagandists presented the crime of the Mazreku brothers.[1] This report of the Association of Independent Journalists of Serbia emphasized the political and media contexts of a trial process that had huge media coverage.

On August 27, Serbian and international journalists, accompanied by police forces and Danica Marinkovic, the investigative judge of the District Court of Prishtina, visited the KLA military unit in the village of Klecka, which had fallen into the hands of the Serbian forces. The spokesman of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Bozidar Filic, said that during the visit, journalists saw "KLA shelters and warehouses filled with canned food and clothing labeled *made in USA*, which came as humanitarian aid to Albanian civilians threatened by a humanitarian crisis."[2] After the visit to the shelters and the arms depots, Filic suggested ironically that the journalists themselves might also have come to Kosovo "as humanitarian aid from western countries."[3] The journalists were then oriented towards the real objective of the visit: The Klecka Crematorium.

The judge Marinkovic explained to the reporters that, Abducted, chained, and cruelly abused Serbian civilians were taken as prisoners. After first being detained in inhumane conditions in animal stalls, prisoners were transferred from one camp to another, from Krajmirovci Camp to Lapushniku Camp, ending up in Klecka Camp.[4]

After countless tortures, solely because they were Serbs or Albanians loyal to the Serbian regime, these abducted civilians were executed, and

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[1] *NUNS-ova krivična prijava protiv novinara*, at: http://www.vreme.com/cms/view.php?id=875112&print=yes, p.11

[2] Glas Javnosti, Svedoćenje Bekima Mazreku, (Dëshmia e Bekim Mazrekut) see article online at: http://www.glas-javnosti.rs/clanak/glas-javnosti-20-04-2008/krematorijum-u-klecki;

[3] ID

[4] Večernje Novosti, *Dželati sa Klečke*, (Klecka Henchmen), see article at:http://www.novosti.rs/vesti/naslovna/dosije/aktuelno.292.html:211412-Dzelati-sa-Klecke;

their bodies were thrown into the limestone pit inside the kiln. Some of the kidnapped civilians, after these cruelties, were thrown alive into the limestone pit.[1] A number of human bones, mostly large, unable to burn even from the intense heat of the limestone fire which, like the lives of the Serbian civilians, had been put out, were found buried near the kiln. Remains of bones and the wires used by Albanian Remains of bones and the wires used by Albanian terrorists to tie and drag the Serbs to the limestone kiln were also found in the pit of the Crematorium Kiln.

The same ironic conceit that Bozidar Filic used for the "confiscated" weapons was also applied to the origin of the "Albanian Limestone Crematorium". Namely, it was said that they didn't know whether the limestone was a local product, or whether it was brought in as a form of humanitarian aid![2]

In order to make the information distributed to local and international journalists more convincing, the same investigative judge said that in addition to the physical evidence found at the crime scene, they had also arrested two KLA soldiers (Luan and Bekim Mazreku), who confirmed the details of this monstrous crime. In this context, the investigative judge Marinkovic improvised an interrogation of Bekim Mazreku in the presence of journalists, explaining that Luan was not able to show up due to health reasons.

During this questioning, in response to a direct question in front of the cameras and microphones of journalists,[3] Bekim Mazreku claimed that his group, consisting of about 20 KLA soldiers, had executed two children aged seven, eight aged between seven and eleven, three women aged twenty-eight to thirty-two, two young boys and three men, who were lined up and shot dead. These murders were allegedly ordered by

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[1] Çëî÷èíè àëáàíñêèõ терориста 1995-1998, Приштина, 1999, p.73-76 (Crimes of the Albanian terrorism 1995-1998)

[2] Ibid.

[3] A part of the investigation documents of the serbian public prosecutor has remained in KOSOVO NWO OCCUPATION, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5BjZVM8r4a4
The statements of Bekim Mazreku are taken from the recording.

The limestone kiln presented as a 'Crematorium'

Skeletal remains of the murdered people

Fatmir Limaj, Gani Krasniqi, and Ismet Kilaj. Answering a question from investigator Marinkovic about the identity of Fatmir Limaj, Bekim Mazreku answered that Fatmir Limaj was the commander of Klecka,[1] while the other two were commanders of Malishevo. Not knowing what to say to a question about the fate of the civilian corpses who were allegedly executed, Bekim Mazreku said, "I don't know what had happened after, because they drove us away from the scene."[2]

Bekim Mazreku seemed extremely confused in front of the reporters and was not as convincing as the organizer of this "press conference" had wished. Dissatisfied with the answers by Mazreku, the investigative judge Marinkovic interrupted the interrogation of the accused.

In order to fill in omissions from his first public statements, on the same day Bekim Mazreku was made to give an exclusive interview to Milovan Drecun, a journalist for military affairs. This was carefully edited by the camera operator Tomislav Magoc and was transmitted on Serbian National Television on August 29th, 1998.

It seemed the two earlier public presentations were not sufficient, so the media organization called "The Media Center," controlled by

[1] Fatmir Limaj was a member of the General Staff of the KLA, and not a commander to a village. This proves the lack of information that the structures of serbian government possesed about the KLA organization.

[2] KOSOVO NWO OCCUPATION

Bekim Mazreku and investigative judge Danica Marinkovic during crime scene reconstruction

Miloshevic's government, organized a third appearance of Bekim Mazreku in front of local and international journalists.

After these public appearances of the witness who admitted to having committed war crimes against Serbian civilians, the Association of Serbian Journalists sent a letter to various organizations around the world, requesting members of the media to visit Klecka as soon as possible and report to their agencies. The reports were to address the actions and objectives of the well-armed, uniformed Albanians and the source of their weapons, training, food, and general support for acts using crematoriums, knives, lead and limestone in order to carry out a genocide against the Serbs in Kosovo.[1]

[1] Владислав Б. Сотировић, *Prvi krematorijum u Evropi nakon Aušvica* (First Crematorium in Europe after Auschwitz)

Public interrogation session: Bekim Mazreku, with hands tied behind his back, is questioned by Danica Marinkivic during the press conference

Alongside the strategy of using the "witness" statements, the Serbian propaganda machine was also manipulating the number of the victims. Initially, the civilians said to have been killed numbered in the hundreds, but then the public statements of Bekim Mazreku that described only 10 people killed decreased the number of the victims to the extent that even the state-owned media were compelled to correct the figures that had been published earlier. After several days of media manipulation, the Serbian Ministry of Interior Affairs described the investigation outcome in a communiqué and revealed the final figures to be about 22 Serbian civilians killed and burned in the limestone crematorium.[1]

In addition to the media reports of trumped up cases of terrorist actions of the Albanian separatists, such as the so called "Klecka Crematorium," diplomatic missions from Yugoslavia had distributed

http://www.krajinaforce.com/forum/index.php?/topic/4128-prvi-krematorijum-u-evropi-nakon-au%C5%A1vica/

[1] Cited from: *Çëî÷èíè àëáàíñêèõ òåðîðèñòà* ..., p.73-76

materials prepared by the Serbian Secret Service to all of the important countries on the international political scene. In these materials, the KLA was stigmatized as a terrorist organization with Islamic fundamentalist views.

To support this argument, these materials introduced "evidence and facts." According to information distributed by the Serbian Secret Service at the 18th Islamic Conference held in Pakistan in 1998, the Albanian separatist movement in Kosovo was a "jihad." The information from the Secret Service appealed to all the Muslim countries at the conference to assist with the liberation of the "occupied Muslim territories."[1]

According to this propaganda, a number of Islamic fanatics from Afghanistan, Algeria, Egypt, Chechnya, Iran and other countries were included in the command staff units of the KLA in Kosovo and were engaged as instructors for special military training for special KLA groups.[2]

In accordance with the new context created after the withdrawal of Serbian forces from Kosovo, the Serbian government redistributed the materials of the Serbian Secret Service mentioned earlier, together with new "data" in a publication entitled *The White Book –The Albanian Terrorism and Organized Crime in Kosovo and Metohija*.[3]

The White Book will be addressed in detail in the second part of this book. For now I will only focus on the fact that the propaganda of the Belgrade regime about "Islamic fundamentalist instructors who were training KLA soldiers" did not find any support from those to whom it was addressed by its creators. Except for a few newspaper articles where the influence of the propaganda is obvious, the attempt to present the KLA as a terrorist organization based on Islamic fundamentalism had failed

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[1] "Vlada Srbije: Bela knjiga o albanskom terorizmu http://fr.scribd.com/doc/63883383/Vlada-Srbije-Bela-knjiga-o-albanskom-terorizmu-2003-opsti-deo Albanski terorizam i organizovani kriminal na Kosovu i Metohiji http://sorryserbia.com/wp/belaknjiga.pdf

[2] Ibid.

[3] The above parts that stigmatize KLA are obtained from the chapter on the "panislamic factoe" p. 40-44 of this collection.

completely. Serbian disappointment in this failure was expressed publicly by the minister of Information of Republic of Serbia, Goran Matic. In the newspaper *Medjunarodna politika*[1] he declared, "It is unbelievable how Islamic fundamentalists are considered as terrorists only when they kill Americans. When they kill innocent citizens of Yugoslavia they are considered as just warriors."[2]

On August 29, 1998 the news agency *Reuters* published an article by journalist Julijana Mojsilovic from Belgrade in which Yugoslavia's Minister of Foreign Affairs described the killings in Klecka as the most serious and cruel crimes committed by the KLA. He urged western state governments to condemn the incident.[3] The *France Press Agency* correspondent reported from Belgrade that it was not only the Foreign Affairs minister of Yugoslavia, but every Yugoslav official who described the "Massacre of Klecka" as one of the most severe crimes committed against Serbs in Kosovo in an attempt to impose it as a potential case which needed to be dealt with by the War Crimes Court of the United Nations.[4]

In addition to the ministers and high governmental officials, "non-governmental" organizations controlled by the Serbian government came out with strong indictments against this "crime." For instance, the Serbian Association of Prisoners of World War II, whose members had passed through the Nazi camps, condemned the horrible crimes committed in Klecka by Albanian terrorists.[5] According to their report, in an attempt to eliminate evidence of this inhumane act, Albanian terrorists burned the bodies of 22 Serbian civilians in an improvised crematorium. In their criminal madness, according to the Association, the KLO applied Nazi

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1 Translation: International policy.

2 Radio Yugoslavia,"Double standard?", http://www.srpska-mreza.com/Kosovo/atrocities/Klecka-2.html

3 *Kosovo Albanian rebel says killed Serb civilians*
http://www.srpska-mreza.com/Kosovo/atrocities/Klecka-3.html

4 *Kosovo Albanian brothers sentenced to 20 years for terrorism* AFP, April 18, 2001
http://www.srpska-mreza.com/Kosovo/atrocities/Klecka-Verdict.html

5 *A crime equal to those of the Nazis*, 31 gusht 1998
http://www.srpska-mreza.com/Kosovo/atrocities/Klecka-reaction-3.html

recipes from Auschwitz, Buchenwald, Dachau, Mauthausen, Bergen–Belsen and of thousands of other camps of the Third Reich.[1]

As a response to the request by international institutions to condemn the Srebrenica Genocide, stories flooded Serbian media in which these same institutions were asked to take into consideration the "Klecka Crematorium."

> *There are countless facts associated with the operation of the first and only crematorium in Europe after the German Auschwitz, which nobody can refute! It is up to the European Parliament to wake up and pass a resolution condemning the Albanian Auschwitz, if only symbolically. They must adopt at least one resolution through which August 29th would be marked as the European day of the Limestone Crematorium!*[2]

The international media paid significant attention to what the Serbian propaganda presented as the "Klecka Crematorium." For example, the BBC reported that Serbian authorities condemned the killing of Serbian civilians, described as a massacre in the style of the Nazis.[3]

In an article dedicated to events in Kosovo, Misha Savic of the *Associated Press* reported that Serbian forensic experts dug up the remains of ten Serbian civilians from the crematorium, among whom two were children.[4] *The New York Times*[5] also reported the same information distributed by the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Serbia, while *The Washington Times* warned that if international forensic experts were to confirm the accuracy of this crime, there would be great consequences to the KLA war.[6]

The Serbian propaganda story of the Klecka Crematorium also had

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1 Ibid.

2 Cited from: *Prvi krematorijum u Evropi...*

3 *Serbs condemn Nazi-style massacre of civilians*
http://www.srpska-mreza.com/Kosovo/atrocities/Klecka-4.html

4 *Police: Albanians Burned 22 Serbs*,bBy Misha Savic, AssociatedPress writer, 29 August, 1998
http://www.srpska-mreza.com/Kosovo/atrocities/Klecka-5.html

5 *Le New York Times SERBS ACCUSE separatists of Kosovo Mass killings*, Sunday, 30 Aug 1998
http://www.srpska-mreza.com/Kosovo/atrocities/Klecka-6.html

6 The Washington Times, Sunday, 30 Aug 1998, by Philip Smucker, *Police accuse KLA rebels of executing Serbian civilians Remains shown to reporters as proof*
http://www.srpska-mreza.com/Kosovo/atrocities/Klecka-7.html

its effect in the political sphere. One of the first political reactions was from the vice president of the Parliamentary Assembly of the European Council, Ukrainian Boris Olevnik. He declared that this event had shocked him that weekend when, during a visit to Kosovo, he had personally seen evidence that the claims of Serbian war crimes in Kosovo were lies. He reported that instead, the Albanian terrorists of Kosovo had forced their fellow countrymen to move out of their homes and go into the woods or some other remote location, so that actions perpetrated by the KLA could be attributed to Serbian forces[1] Similarly, on September 17th 1998, the Dutch MP of the European Parliament, Leonie Godefrieda Louisa van Bladel, asked about the fate of the "hostages" in Kosovo. Despite the incompleteness of her inquiry, she informed members of the Parliament that in the meantime she had understood from the international media reporting on Saturday, August 29, that the KLA had killed 22 people in the village of Klecka near Prishtina (mostly women and children) and then burned them in the limestone kiln.[2] The Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination of the United Nations requested the Yugoslav Government to inform them about the situation in Kosovo.

In the report sent by the Yugoslav Government to this UN authority on January 26, 1999, paragraph 31 stated that, "The Serbian forces had found a mass grave with the bodies of abducted Serbian civilians. On August 27th, 1998 in the village of Klecka (Municipality of Lipjan) the police found the ashes of the 22 abducted Serbian civilians, whose bodies were burned by the Albanian terrorists in a limestone kiln after they had been killed. The two arrested terrorists (brothers Luan and Bekim Mazreku) explained in details and admitted committing these crimes."[3]

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[1] *I saw myself...*, http://www.srpska-mreza.com/Kosovo/atrocities/Klecka-reaction-2.html

[2] Question écrite E- 2797/98, posée par Leonie van Bladel (UPE) à la Commission, (September 17, 1998).

[3] United Nations, Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, CERD/C/364, January 26 , 1999, see: http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/(Symbol)/CERD.C.364.Fr? Opendocument

In addition to these reactions, the Serbian agency *Beta* reported that the Special Envoy for Yugoslavia, American ambassador Christopher Hill, during his visit to Belgrade, condemned the crime that had occurred in Klecka. "We are shocked by what happened and we condemn this form of violence. Those responsible must be arrested and brought to justice"[1]– he said to journalists. Alongside this, American diplomat Robert Doll[2] also spoke to this issue. During his visit to Kosovo, Robert Doll requested consent to allow international independent experts to investigate the origins of the crime, the perpetrators, the death toll, and other information. This kind of response and requests to form a commission of independent experts to investigate this crime were frequent. In spite of this call for open investigation, judge Danica Marinkovic was categorically against it. She argued that it was not the right thing to do because the crime scene, the two KLA criminals, the weapons, and the remains of the victims were still there.[3] The limestone kiln "Klecka Crematorium" was also still there.

From the Klecka Crematorium to Images of Dolls

The Serbian use of disinformation as a weapon to manipulate public opinion could not ultimately conceal the tragic reality of the Kosovo struggle. To get a visual picture of what was happening in Kosovo at this time the reader can stop reading and watch TV coverage[4] in English (now on YouTube). Five minutes of your time will give you an idea of the horror that lasted for months in Kosovo.

I will not weary the reader with a chronology of the terror and suffering experienced by Kosovo Albanians during those months of war, nor will I quote the detailed evidence published by the Committee for

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1 *We are shocked and we condemn...*
http://www.srpska-mreza.com/Kosovo/atrocities/Klecka-reaction-1.html

2 Chairman of the International Commission on Missing Persons in the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia.

3 Cited from: *Çëî÷èíèàëüàíñêèõ òåðîðèñòà...* p. 75-76

4 *The Gornje Obrinje massacre*
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fcLTgvSSypg

the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms in Kosovo. I will limit myself to a brief synthesis on this period by Joël Hubrecht. In his work on Kosovo he estimates that from February to September 1998, 1,000 civilians were killed, 800 were missing and 380.000 were displaced. On September 6 in Polluzha of Rahovec, 11 murdered Albanians (five women and four children) were identified. On the 26th and 27th of September, 32 Albanians were executed. In Gollubovc, the Serbs separated 14 men from a group of refugees and killed them, while on the mountain near the village of Upper Obri/Gornje Obrinje in an improvised shelter, 18 civilians, all members of the Deliu family, were executed by bullet to the head. Among them 6 were women, 4 children and a baby.[1] This list of monstrosities continues.

Of all the crimes during this period, the massacre of the Deliu family from Upper Obri got the most exposure in the international media. To hide this heinous act, the official Belgrade propaganda spread the story that the images from the Upper Obri massacre were "fabricated."

Supporting this assertion was Belgian journalist Michael Collon. He claimed that, "The main evidence from the independent Albanian newspaper *Koha Ditore* was a vague photo of a baby covered in blood, found dead in a forest. Half of the face was covered by a hat." Collon went on to say that a Serbian journalist analyzed the image and announced that it was a doll, not a baby. Collon's prevarication, published in Belgium, was aired on state television in Belgrade, but not in the Western media. Since readers in the West could not see for themselves, Michel Collon asked them to take his word for it, claiming "I have this video."[2]

Collon was outspoken in his disappointment with the Western media, asking why they didn't distribute the Serbian version of the "doll fabrication" instead of talking about massacred children. I will not deal here with the actual contents of the video recording in Collon's

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[1] Joël Hubrecht, *Kosovo 1981-1989-1999-2001, Etablir les faits*, Editions Esprit, 2001, p.47. You can get more information about this massacre in: *Gornje Obrinje: Massacre in the forest*: http://www.hrw.org/reports/1999/kosovo/Obrinje6-02.htm

[2] Michel Collon, *Monopoly- l'OTAN à la conquête du monde*, Editions Epo, Bruxelles, 2000, p. 24-25.

possession, nor will I discuss Milosevic's puppets who attempted to efface this tragedy with images of dolls.

To inform the reader who has not had a chance to learn about this massacre, I will cite a few Serbian sources. I have excluded Albanian sources, not because Serbian apologists and their Western supporters consider them as biased, but because after so many years since the end of the war, the facts can best be clarified by relying on Serbian non-governmental organizations and on public views of Serbian intellectuals who disagreed with Milosevic's policy of genocide in Kosovo.

Twelve years after this tragic act, the Serbian non-governmental organization "Humanitarian Law Center"[1] led by the humanist Natasha Kandic, in an article titled "How Serbia Killed Women, Children and the Elderly,"[2] reminded readers of the crime committed by Serbian agents in Upper Obri and raised her voice to protest the fact that the criminals are yet to face justice. In this article, the repressive apparatus involved in covering up this crime became current again. The perpetrators of this action were the Third Detachment of Special Police Forces, the Police Special Forces Unit of Kosovska Mitrovica and the Special Operations Unit of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Serbia, who formed a joint action with the First Battalion of the 125th Motorized Brigade of the Army of Yugoslavia.[3] The Humanitarian Law Center's article stated that "On September 26th, 1998 in Upper Obri, Serbian forces killed 27 civilians." The photograph, described as a "doll" by the Milosevic regime, was actually Valmir Deliu, born on September 21st, 1996, who had not yet reached the age of two at the time he was killed with his father Adem (b. 1965) and his mother Mihane (b. 1973). In addition to these victims, on the same day the members of Serbian forces also killed the elderly

[1] *Fond za humanitarno pravo*, Dečanska 12, 11000 Beograd, Srbija.
[2] E-novine, *Kako je Srbija ubijala žene, decu i starce*, 24.09.2010, see: http://www.e-novine.com/srbija/srbija-tema/40863-Kako-Srbija-ubijala-ene-decu-starce.html
[3] Ibid.

Executed Valmir Deliu, whom Milosevic's puppets described as a "doll"

Pajaziti[1] and Ali Deliu,[2] Hamide Deliu, and Hava Elshani; they killed a woman named Lumnie Deliu, her son Jeton, 11, and her four year-old

[1] Pajazit Deliu (aged 68).
[2] Ali Deliu (aged 68).

daughter, Menduhie; they killed another woman, Zahide Deliu and her adopted daughter, seven year-old Donjeta; they killed Gentiana, aged eight, and Luljeta Deliu, who was in her ninth month of pregnancy.[1]

Faced with this terrible violence, which had recurred several times in the former Yugoslavia, different political institutions and NGO's in the world were seeking active intervention to prevent the escalation of this situation. To that end, the UN Security Council, through the Resolution 1199,[2] drew special attention to the risk of a humanitarian catastrophe in Kosovo. The violence committed by the Serbian police and Yugoslav army led to the displacement of two hundred thirty thousand persons who had been forced to abandon their homes. As a result, the influx of refugees in Albania, Bosnia and in other European countries was enormous. According to the High Commissioner of the United Nations, within Kosovo fifty thousand people were left without a roof over their head and lacking basic necessities. The fact that winter was approaching increased the concern to alarming proportions[3].

In the resolution of September 23rd 1998, members of the Security Council expressed their deep concern about the degradation of the situation in Kosovo and alerted the members to the potential of a humanitarian catastrophe in the region. At the same time a request was made that all member states maximally engage to prevent this disaster.

In addition to expressing concern, the Security Council condemned the violence in Kosovo and demanded that it stop. They called on participants to respect the ceasefire and to begin a proper dialogue between the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Albanian leaders in order to find a peaceful solution to the Kosovo problem.[4]

The Security Council of the United Nations warned that unless concrete measures were undertaken in accordance with this resolution and the

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[1] E-novine, *Kako je Srbija ubijala žene…*

[2] United Nations, Security Council, S/RES/1199 (1998), September 23, 1998.

[3] In texts expressing "alarm for potential danger of humanitarian catastrophy".

[4] The resolution emphasizes the expanded autonomy and administrative autonomy for Kosovo.

previous resolution of March 3rd, 1998,[1] it would take alternative action and propose additional measures to maintain or establish peace in the region.

Given the bitter experience of the past, the UN Security Council asked Serbia to accept the OSCE Verification Mission to monitor the fulfillment of the conditions imposed by this resolution. The fact that neither Russia nor China could obstruct the Security Council in coming up with these requirements and the threat of NATO air strikes in case of their violation forced Milosevic to sign a ceasefire agreement.[2] Three days later, on October 16, the Serbian government reached an agreement with the OSCE to place two thousand unarmed civilians and constituents of the Member States of the OSCE for the Kosovo Verification Mission.[3]

The Serbian Government formed a Special Government Commission for Cooperation with the OSCE Mission. The Director of this Commission was appointed by the Serbian Deputy Prime Minister, Nikola Sainovic, whereas, his deputy, who would be stationed in Prishtina, was appointed by retired General of the Yugoslav Army Dusan Loncar. Despite being retired, General Loncar was appointed to this position because he knew William Walker from the previous times in Croatia.

The Disappearance of the Klecka Crematorium

Three years after the OSCE mission, in April 2001, the District Court in Nis[4] opened the trial against Luan and Bekim Mazreku. In the context of the trial, the "Limestone Kiln – Klecka Crematorium" fabrication resurfaced in the Serbian media.

During this trial, the defense presented evidence proving that Luan and Bekim Mazreku were arrested on July 30th, 1998,[5] twenty-seven

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1 United Nations, Security Council, S/RES/1160 (1998), March 31, 1998.
2 Known as Holbrooke –Milosevic Agreement of October 13, 1998,
3 The head of this mission was appointed the American diplomat William Walker
4 Nish (in serbian Niš), City in Serbia.
5 According to sources of the Association of Independent Journalists of Serbia the arrest was made on August 2. (see: http://www.vreme.com/cms/view.php?id=875112&print=yes)

days prior to the "discovery" of the crime for which they were charged. The defense brought extensive evidence showing that Luan and Bekim Mazreku had no connection with the KLA, but were arrested as civilians while they were seeking food for their families. Luan and Bekim Mazreku described before the court the horror of their three weeks of suffering at the hands of Serbian law enforcement, the torment that drove them to a public confession.

The Serbian trial panel did not take into account any evidence from the defense. The only difference in relation to what the prosecution had provided had to do with the remains of the dead publicly presented as evidence of the "KLA Crematorium." During later expert testimony, it was proved that the remains presented on August 27th were not the remains of little Jovana, whose surname was not known, nor those of her mother and grandmother, whose names were never mentioned, or of the group of 100 civilians who were allegedly executed in the village of Klecka. During the court session the prosecution asserted that those were the remains of other Serbian civilians who were executed in another place. Their names or surnames were not known, according to the prosecution, but it was certain that the remains were "Serbian civilians."

On April 18th, 2001 the district court in Nis sentenced Luan and Bekim Mazreku to twenty years imprisonment. This punishment would later be used an argument for continuing the same activities as during the war. Among the few reactions against the above-mentioned pretense of criminal justice, noteworthy is the one of the Director of the Military Hospital in Belgrade, Zoran Stankovic.

On January 24th 2002, in relation to the Klecka village case, Stankovic warned that it is not wise to fabricate stories about "war crimes" based solely on the fact that human bones were found.

> *I am responding to this phenomenon in order to appease the passions and to allow the investigative bodies to clear this case completely. It is*

unacceptable to have a spokesperson outside of the investigation make statements that I am more than certain can't be of any help to us. Every public misstatement can backfire on us like a boomerang, as in the case with the forty children of Vukovar, which resulted in the months-long boycott of our information by foreign countries,"[1] *said Stankovic.*

He feared that Serbian propaganda about the Klecka Crematorium would suffer the same fate as the case of "Vukovar children." Here, I will make a small digression in order to clarify to the reader the concern of the doctor and the analogy he makes between the two cases. After 86 days of bombing the Croatian city of Vukovar, Serbian forces overran this place, which was turned into ruins.[2]

In order to neutralize the reactions of international public opinion to the atrocities of the Serbian-Yugoslav army and the police, Belgrade propaganda machine claimed that forty slain Serbian children had been discovered. The information was distributed through RTS[3], but because there was no evidence, they were forced to refute it and admit that there had been a mistake.[4]

Two months after the statement of Zoran Stankovic and one year after the sentence against Luan and Bekim Mazreku was announced, the Serbian Supreme Court examined the appeals of the two young Albanians submitted by their attorneys.[5] This court took into consideration all the facts and quashed the decision of the district court of Nis. Luan and Bekim Mazreku were acquitted. On March 26, 2002 the two returned free to Kosovo. The decision of the Supreme Court of Serbia for the acquittal of Luan and Bekim Mazreku led to the sudden disappearance of story of the "Klecka Crematorium."

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1 Vreme, *Lik i Delo-Zoran Stanković* (The image and work of Zoran Stankovic) http://www.vreme.com/cms/view.php?id=306212

2 Watch the short documentary:"La bataille de Vukovar" http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=055RFNUHCjA

3 Serbian Radio television.

4 E-Novine, *Slučaj Brajović*, (The Brajovic Case), http://www.e-novine.com/index.php?news=19158

5 Marina Klajic and Cedomir Nikolic.

The release of Luan and Bekim Mazreku was not surprising. None of the international media that had published stories about the Klecka Crematorium, including reports that accompanied the information with suspicions about its authenticity, published the outcome of this process: the acquittal of two Albanian civilians accused in a show trial. None of the personalities who argued that the "Klecka incident" was "the most serious crime in Europe after Auschwitz," reacted to this outcome, not even to applaud the new spirit that had occurred within the Supreme Court of Serbia. Finally, no one called for an investigation to uncover the remains of those who were exposed to the so-called "Klecka Crematorium." Instead, this landmark case was greeted with total silence. This silence encouraged the Serbian propaganda machine to continue its work.

Anyone who followed the Milosevic trial could see that state governmental structures were put in the service of his defense. During this process, Milosevic's attorneys were equipped with detailed information about each witness for the prosecution and their public statements to the media. So, although Milosevic was fully aware that the Belgrade Supreme Court had dismissed the ruling of the District Court of Nis and dropped the charges against the Mazreku brothers, during the hearing of June 14th 2002 Milosevic disingenuously asked the German General, Klaus Naumann[1] whether he knew that the KLA had burned Serbian civilians at the Klecka Crematorium.[2]

The Klecka Crematorium story was resurrected by Milosevic during his trial in The Hague in an attempt to continue his pattern of disinformation to Serbian TV spectators who were following the trial live on TV Belgrade and other channels in Serbia and Kosovo. Despite Milosevic's campaign, Serbian focus on the Klecka Crematorium died down for a number of years. Then, in 2008, the publication of Carla Del Ponte's book *The Hunt*: *Me and the War Criminals,* mobilized the

[1] Chairman of the NATO Council before and after the decision for military attack on Serbia.

[2] The process against Milosevic, the witness Klaus Naumann, June session, p. 751 http://www.hlc-rdc.org/Transkripti/Milosevic/_Milosevic.html

old propaganda machine of the Milosevic regime to start a new battle. The first to react to the book was the former investigative judge of the Klecka case, Danica Marinkovic.[1] She broke several years of silence on the political, investigative and judicial events around this case, and became quite voluble in requesting a retrial for the Mazreku brothers.

Del Ponte's book called for the reactivation of the Klecka case. Adding fuel to the fire, the report of the Swiss prosecutor Dick Marty to the Council of Europe, entitled "Inhuman treatment of people and illicit trafficking in human organs in Kosovo," encouraged Milosevic's supporters to focus on Klecka.

In an interview for the newspaper *Vesti*, Danica Marinkovic, repeated these old accusations: "In this case there were burned around 30 Serbian civilians,[2] and although the Mazreku brothers were sentenced to 20 years in prison, the Supreme Court quashed the decision..."[3] Taking into consideration that a more favorable climate existed to consider the alleged KLA crimes, she asked for a retrial of Luan and Bekim Mazreku, once again in Nis.

In the same spirit, Serbia's Deputy Prosecutor for War Crimes, Bruno Vekaric, called several times for the retrial of Bekim and Luan Mazreku at the Court of Nis. However, the chairman of the Supreme Court of Nis, Zoran Krstic, declared, "It is impossible to hold a retrial because the original records of the investigation are missing, as are essential documents in this case." According to Krstic, the documents were in the District Court of Prishtina, which refused to return them.[4]

Continuing the campaign for a new trial, the deputy prosecutor, Bruno Vekaric, formally requested from the authorities of EULEX in Kosovo that all of the documents related to this case be submitted

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[1] Now the Supreme Court judge in Kragujevac

[2] Has forgotten the official figures for the 22 civilians killed, published by her in 1998!!

[3] Vesti, *Ubio i spalio 30 serba* (killed and burned 30 Serbs) http://www.vesti-online.com/Stampano-izdanje/18-03-2011/Dogadaj-dana/124379/Ubio-i-spalio-30-Srba-/print

[4] Politika, *Zločinci iz Klečke nisu na Kosovu* http://www.politika.rs/rubrike/Hronika/Zlocinci-iz-Klecke-nisu-na-Kosovu.lt.html

to the court in Nis, to ensure justice was being served. Both UNMIK and the Prishtina District Court were accused of being involved in the disappearance of evidence and proof.[1]

Milosevic's supporters knew that some people had not forgotten the fact that Luan and Bekim Mazreku were taken as hostages by the Milocevic regime and, based on their fabricated documentation, were sentenced to 20 years in prison in 2001 by the district court of Nis, nor had they forgotten that the Serbian Supreme Court had exonerated the brothers. Even so, perpetrators of the Klecka story knew how successful disinformation could be in manipulating public opinion. Moreover, even credible refutation of bogus accusations cannot erase the effects of disinformation. Thus, the Klecka story did not permanently disappear.

After the acquittal of Luan and Bekim Mazreku by the Supreme Court of Serbia and after their release on March 26th, 2002, if there was any truth to the story about the disappearance of documents, it was clear that the individuals who fabricated evidence and falsified judicial files were the only ones with an interest in losing documents from this trial. However, even though court documents and a retrial could be dangerous to those who falsely accused the brothers, it is possible that what lay at the bottom of the persistence in calling for a new trial was the hope of the old Serbian regime that they could find "witnesses" of human organ trafficking by the KLA. They had once been successful in forcing Luan and Bekim Mazreku to admit to a crime they had not committed and to falsely testify against persons who allegedly had ordered these crimes. Perhaps they could repeat this strategy in a new case.

Serbian civilians having names, but no surnames and often no names or surnames

At this point, it would be useful to return to the Serbian story about "Jovana, aged 11." According to the Serbian police colonel, Slavko Nikic,

[1] Ibid.

"Luan and Bekim Mazreku had raped her in front of the eyes of her mother, grandmother and wounded Serbs who were tied up."[1] Although Jovana's surname and the names of her mother and grandmother were never discovered, Slavko Nikic declared her a "heroine of the Serbian nation."[2]

The absence of names or surnames belonging to Serbian civilians allegedly killed by the KLA is a deliberate tactic in the campaign to accuse Albanians of war crimes, a tactic that has continued ever since the war in Kosovo. In the last chapter of this book I will analyze this strategy and show that this form of manipulation is not just a characteristic of some individuals, like Milovan Drecun and Slavko Nikic, but is the official policy of the Serbian regime.

In order to continue this discussion, we will take a closer look at Slavko Nikic, the person who expresses "great regret" for the loss of the lives of Serbian civilians. It is not essential to focus too much on his biography, but it is important to note that this Serbian police colonel possesses three different citizenships.[3] He has received these citizenships as a reward for his "great contributions to the Serbian cause." It is interesting to note that this policeman, a published author, said in one of his writings that "from the great personalities of the political, police and military field, on views related to life he mostly appreciates General Ratko Mladic."[4]

Ratko Mladic is one of the greatest criminals in the Balkans, accused of genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity.[5] The Ratko Mladic's view on the sanctity of life was particularly clear during the "Srebrenica Massacre." I will only remind you that on July 13th, 1995 Serbian forces

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1 Slavko Nikić, *Nulta Krvna Grupa*, Rad Edition, Belgrade, 2013, p. 10-14

2 Ibid., p. 11

3 Possesses citizenship of Serbia, Montenegro and Republika Srpska in Bosnia. Proudly showing the three ID card he possesses:

4 Slavko Nikić, cited book, *Nulta Krvna Grupa*,p. 8

5 France 24, *L'ancien général serbe Ratko Mladic a été arrêté* (Ratko Mladic, former general arrested) http://www.france24.com/fr/20110526-serbie-bosnie-herzegovine-tadic-arrestation-ratko-mladic-srebrenica-sarajevo-tpiy-crimes-guerre/

in Bosnia, under the command of Ratko Mladic, massacred nearly 8,000 Muslim men and boys in Srebrenica. The massacre in Srebrenica was said to be the most horrific crime in Europe since World War II, and was qualified as genocide by the United Nations General Assembly and the International Court of Justice.[1]

Sixteen years after this massacre and after continuous demands of the international community to Serbia, Ratko *Mladic* was finally arrested and extradited to The Hague where he is awaiting trial.

Slavko Nikic confirms publicly that he was a close friend of General Mladic and that for his contribution to the Serbs on the other side of river Drina,[2] General Ratko Mladic honored him with special recognition. Moreover, Nikic boasted that under General Mladic's guidance he was sent to fight in Kosovo as a colonel in charge of Special Unit Forces."[3]

Considering the horrific events that occurred under the command of Ratko Mladic, one can only imagine what contributions Slavko Nikic made in Bosnia to warrant special recognition. In the context of this chapter I will only focus on the political positions of the Serbian police colonel who had been sent to Kosovo by Ratko Mladic. After the Serbian Supreme Court's decision to free the Mazreku brothers, Colonel Nikic expressed disgust and accused the Serbian State Administration of worse crimes against Serbs in Klecka because the court's decision to set free all the Albanian terrorists.[4] In addition to his charges against Serbian institutions, Slavko Nikic expressed a particular disgust with the Humanitarian Law Center of Serbia. Nikic accused this humanitarian organization of being responsible for the release of the Albanians held in Serbian prisons. Nikic claimed that

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1 Euronews, *Srebrenica: hommage aux victimes du 13 juillet 1995*, 13.07.2013 (http://fr.euronews.com/2013/07/13/srebrenica-hommage-aux-victimes-du-13-juillet-1995)

2 Figuratively symbolizes the border between Bosnia and Serbia

3 Cirilica - Joca Jovanovic, Zoran Petrovic, Slavko Nikic 4/7 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ID1k3TKVfQo

4 Slavko Nikic, cited from, *Nulta Krvna Grupa,* p. 12

Slavko Nikic showing the IDs of the three citizenships he possesses

Slavko Nikic displaying the book of his idol, Ratko Mladic

Albanian bandits were released with the mediation of a Serbian association, who even though they knew very well what Mazreku brothers had done to little Jovana, continued to defend these two criminals and eighteen hundred other Albanian perpetrators, thieves, violators, war criminals and murderers.

This, according to Nikic, was in order to receive a part of the profit from the sale of body organs from Serbian prisoners held in Albanian camps.[1]

Slavko Nikic talked at length about his disgust at the supposed war

[1] Ibid., p. 98.

crimes he claims were committed by Albanians. In an effort to appear as a "victim" he reveals some significant facts:

> *"During the war I apprehended sixty-four Albanian war thugs who admitted to committing war crimes," declared Slavko Nikic proudly in a special edition of TV Novi Sad. Instead of receiving gratitude from the Serbian state, The Democratic Opposition of Serbia, after the assassination of Zoran Dzindzic through the operation "Sable,"[1] arrested me and accused me as being a member of the Zemun Clan. I have never hated Zoran Dzindzic, but I loved Milosevic. I still do, even though he is dead. I feel proud being arrested by the Democratic Opposition of Serbia and would have felt ashamed if they had promoted me. Moreover, Ratko Mladic has greeted me personally, even from the Hague Prison where he is being held, although he is innocent.*[2]

I hope that the views of Slavko Nikic about Slobodan Milosevic and Ratko Mladic, as well as the recognition of Nikic by Ratko Mladic for his contribution to the crimes committed in Bosnia and Kosovo are sufficient to create an image of his nature.

It is also important to consider the contribution of Milovan Dracun in the exposure of the alleged Klecka Crematorium crimes. A single fact is sufficient to reveal the character of this journalist.

This fact relates to a rare action taken by the Association of Journalists in the Balkans. On July 1st, 2009 the Association of Independent Journalists of Serbia handed over an indictment to the War Crimes Court in Serbia against the journalists of Radio Television Belgrade, Radio Television of Novi Sad and against journalists from the newspapers *Politika*, *Vecernje Novosti* and all those who, during the breakup of the Yugoslav Federation put themselves in service of the Serbian regime.

In this criminal charge, the Association of Independent Journalists accused journalists who promoted Serbian propaganda of helping to

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[1] Ibid., p.171

[2] Slavko Nikic - *Emisija Secanja 1/2*
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9XZcv3-A5nM

spread religious and interethnic hatred and of promoting discrimination and hostilities through which they created the psychological preconditions for violence and most brutal crimes.

For this reason, this association asked the War Crimes Court in Serbia to convict these journalists of a criminal offense for encouraging the commission of genocide and war crimes in accordance with Article 145 of the Criminal Code of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Several journalists were accused of media manipulation, among them Milovan Dracun, a political and military affairs journalist from Radio Television of Serbia. Dracun, along with some of his colleagues, orchestrated the Klecka Crematorium case through the "interview" with Bekim Mazreku.[1] Dracun had not been held accountable for his involvement in promoting crimes of genocide in Kosovo and was instead enjoying privileges. I will revisit this issue later in the book. The Association of Independent Journalists of Serbia is not the only Serbian association that reacted against the immunity of perpetrators and instigators of crimes. In the context of this chapter and in order to see the Serbian investigative role in the chain of organized crime in Kosovo, I will mention an article by the Serbian humanist Natasha Kandic about the position of the investigative judge, Danica Marinkovic.

In an article published in March, 2002 titled The Disturbing Truth,[2] relying on the statements of members of the Special Police Units of Serbia, Natasha Kandic accused Danica Marinkovic of murder in the village of Likoshan.

"From these policemen I have learned that Danica Marinkovic ordered the execution of wounded men from the Ahmeti family on February 28th, 1998 in the village of Likoshan. While inspecting the

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[1] The complete lawsuit of Independent Journalists Association can be seen at the site: Vreme, *NUNS-ova krivična prijava protiv novinara* http://www.vreme.com/cms/view.php?id=875112&print=yes

[2] Natasa Kandic, *Uznemiravajuca istina* (The Disturbing Truth), March 8, 2002 http://www.b92.net/feedback/misljenja/kandic/print-kandic.html

crime scene Marinkovic had been accompanied by Deputy District Attorney, Jovica Jovanovic, and employees of the criminal police. In front of the Ahmeti family house was a pile of bodies. Some of the men gave signs of life. In the presence of thirty members of the Special Anti-Terrorist Units, the investigative judge Danica Marinkovic had openly stated, "I am not taking these with me, kill them!" They killed them with Hecklers.[1] Results of the investigation of the crime scene were never published. On March 1, 1998 fourteen bodies were transferred to Prishtina hospital. The investigative judge did not order autopsies, so after the bodies were identified they were handed over to the families. The police officers who participated in the Likoshan action informed me that guns and bombs were placed that close to the slain bodies in order to use them as information for the public.

Even today, judges, prosecutors and high police officials continue to destroy the remaining documents that may implicate them; they fake documents and sustain their silence on Kosovo. The older leaders of Kosovo police and of the Socialist Party of Serbia are concerned about what might happen if the "traitors" from their ranks speak up. This concern is reasonable. The wall of silence was has been broken, and more and more people are talking about what had happened in Kosovo.[2]

In Kosovo, political power strategies are intertwined with the police, judicial institutions and journalists in the role of distributing lies about the alleged murder of Serbian civilians by the KLA. On the contrary, in Kosovo civilians of Albanian, Serbian and of other ethnic groups were murdered, and a wall of silence was imposed by the regime in order to save the real organizers and executors of these crimes from criminal responsibility.

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[1] German made pistol, part of the equipment of Serbian police special units.
[2] Natasa Kandic, cited article: *Uznemiravajuca istina*

EPILOGUE TO CHAPTER ONE

Breaking the wall of silence about the crimes in Kosovo!

"I have always served as a policeman in Kosovo, but the year 1998 was horrifying. An unseen massacre carried out by the police and the army!"[1] *Slobodan Stojanovic, a retired commander of the police station in Crna Trava, former member of the 4th troops of the 37th Detachment of Special Units of Serbian Police recalled war crimes in Kosovo.*

Serbian policeman Slobodan Stojanovic speaking publicly about the crimes in Kosovo

When the members of our unit went to Kosovo they were in a difficult financial position. I saw looting of property, theft of tractors, vehicles, chainsaws and cultivators. In a word, everything that the eye could see, the hands were grabbing! There were cases even when fingers were cut off to take people's rings. I've seen these with my own eyes. They returned home with thick gold chains and rings for their wives. They did not have any consequences, and today they're all rich people.

It has been five years since I've retired and those policemen are still

[1] Fond za Humanitarno Pravo, *Svedočenje Slobodana Stojanovića (1)*: *Pravili su lampe od albanskih lobanja* (Slobodan Stojanovic's confession: they made lamps from Albanian skulls), At: http://www.hlc-rdc.org/?p=25433

Serbian soldier counting money stolen from Albanians

protecting us! I feel ashamed to look at them!

For three months in Kosovo I've seen horrors. The Army was moving in front of us and were shooting multi-barreled rockets towards the mountainous villages of Gllogovci, killing everything that moved.
A colleague of mine asked for money from an Albanian civilian more than seventy years old. I asked him if he was normal and why was he doing that. He killed him because the old man only had 10 marks[1]! This policeman is still serving. I really don't understand...

In Gllogovc, after cleansing the area, I saw a group of 400-500 Albanians (women, children and elderly). Someone wanted to shoot at them, but I stopped him. Later I saw the horror of dismembered bodies and burned houses from the explosions.
I couldn't have even imagined that something like this could happen. In Upper and Lower Prekaz women, children, animals and everything that moved was killed. Drenica was burning. I remember when the unarmed shepherds were killed. They didn't even have a knife to cut their bread. Commander Radoslav Mitrovic gave the order to 'leave them to sunbathe!'. This, in our code language, meant "kill them in cold blood![2]
Our commander Nenad Stojkovic was aware of all these things. He was personally present when the policemen of our unit in the village of Bajgor,

[1] Marks were German currency before the change to the currency of the EU, the Euro.
[2] Fond za Humanitarno Pravo: *SvedočenjeSlobodana Stojanovića (2): Ubijali su decu, žene, starce, čobane, ovce* (Testemony of Slobodan Stojanovic: killed children, women, elderly, shepherds, sheep....) at: http://www.hlc-rdc.org/?p=25448

Albanian settlements in flames and ruins

at Trepça mine, killed a mentally handicapped child and his mother, whose house we passed at nighttime. When I asked why they did such a thing, I was told they didn't need any witnesses!

Commander Nenad Stojkovic next to the tank: Obri, September 1998

In September 1998, we fought in the villages above Prizren, in the so-called field cleansing action. I will not mention the name of the officer, still alive and retired, who, for the mere pleasure of it, killed a child in his cradle who was not even four months old. According to this officer, "A dead Albanian is better than a living Albanian." I wanted to kill him.
A member of the Pirot Unit belonging to the 87th Section of the Special Police Units, chopped the head off of a murdered Albanian, then, for several days in a row boiled it in a stew-pot. From it he extracted four golden teeth and then went home and had the scull painted and turned it into a table lamp. He did the same to a murdered woman. He chopped her head, boiled it the same way, took it home and made a table lamp out of it. He said that he wanted to have a pair of lamps. Normal people were terrified. The detachment commander, the unit commander, and 80 % of the policemen were aware of this horror!
Doctor Branimir Djokic, who had been with our unit since its formation, told Nenad Stojkovic that when he returned from the war he would tell everything they had done. Dr.Djokic was killed by the policeman Goran

Stamenkovic – Stamenko, just because he knew a lot about the crimes in Kosovo. Not only was there no proper investigation into the murder of Dr. Branimir Djokic, but it was also said that he had been killed by KLA! A number of the soldiers underwent investigative procedures, but the investigations were ended. Serbian Prosecution for War Crimes deputy Dragoljub Stankovic, not only failed to bring an indictment against the soldiers, he prepared their defense by the Hague Tribunal.

I really don't understand. However, it became clear to me that I did not go to Kosovo with real policemen, but with a group that I do not know how to define, because they were not even criminals. I was there with sadists, sick people; with cannibals who had eaten human flesh. They were a group of bandits ready to rob and kill without being held accountable by anyone. Even today it is not clear to me who from the state high officials allowed them to do so.[1]

[1] Parts of public confessions of the Serbian policeman, Slobodan Stojanovic:
made lamps out of Albanian skulls f
(http://www.hlc-rdc.org/?p=25433)
"Killed children, women, elderly, shepherds, sheep..."
(http://www.hlc-rdc.org/?p=25448)

CHAPTER TWO

PROLOGUE TO CHAPTER TWO

Shortly after 20:00 hrs, I suddenly heard a disheartening slam of the door and then gunshots. My friends were falling all around me. Standing at the door, dressed in black with black hats on, were two terrorists shooting relentlessly at us. The first bullet hit Ivan who fell on top of me. From the recollections of Nikola Rajovic about the night of December 14, 1998 at Panda Bar in Peja.[1]

Out of 13 people present in this bar, which was mostly visited by Montenegrin and Serbian youth, six people lost their lives: Ivan Obradovic (aged 14), Vukota Gvozdenovic (aged 16), Svetislav Ristic (aged 17), Zoran Stanojevic (aged 17), Dragan Trifovic (age 17) and Ivan Radevic (aged 25). In addition, three people were severely wounded.[2]

Ivan's mother, Slavica Obradovic, along with the mothers of the other assassinated young men, is still searching for the ones who murdered of their sons and those who ordered them to do so.[3]

In the following chapter the reader will have another opportunity to discover the tactics employed by the propaganda masters of the Milosevic regime and examine this tragedy from a different perspective.

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1 A city in Western Kosovo

2 Cited article *Zločin albanskih terorista*..., p.106

3 "Svet", "DA SE NE ZABORAVI: Ovi mladiæi su ubijeni pre 14 godina u Peæi, krivci nikada nisu naðeni!"(Never Forget: 14 youngsters were killed in Peja, offenders were never found) http://www.smedia.rs/spress/vest/2090/Srpski-mladici-ubijeni-u-kaficu-Panda-Kosovo-Ubijeni-srpski-mladici-Zlocin-u-Pandi-DA-SE-NE-ZABORAVI-Ovi-mladici-su-ubijeni-pre-14-godina-u-Peci-krivci-nikada-nisu-nadjeni-VIDEO.html

A photograph from the Panda Bar Massacre

The Panda Bar

Peja, December 14, 1998

The horrifying incident that occurred that December night in 1998 in a town bordered by Kosovo and Montenegro, shocked Serbs and Montenegrins like no other incident before it.

The story, which was accompanied by photographs of the gruesome murder scene, was covered by national media in Kosovo, Serbia, and Montenegro, accompanied by photographs of the gruesome murder scene. The news led to an organized protest on the morning of December 15th.

The citizens of Kosovo, Serbia and Montenegro expressed outrage for this atrocious crime through mass protests. Citizens demanded the immediate arrest of the perpetrators so they could be brought to justice.

Serbs and Montenegrins at all levels of education, from primary schools to universities, stopped classes and held protest rallies. These

protesters called for, "the state institutions to initiate effective actions to destroy terrorism."[1]

It is worth mentioning here that when Prime Minister Milo Dzukanovic came to power in Montenegro in January of 1998, the Montenegrin republic kept its distance from Milosevic's regime. However, the assassination of both Serbian and Montenegrin youngsters sparked a huge revolt in Montenegro and strong sense of solidarity with the victims and their families of both countries.

The Belgrade Regime exploited this new found solidarity around the victims of the December 14th massacre to strengthen political ties between the two remaining republics of the former Yugoslav Federation and identify a common enemy: "United against Albanian terrorism!"[2]

Petitions and public letters appeared in the Serbian press, and a special editorial space was dedicated to the letters of Serbian and Montenegrin mothers from Peja. The letters were personally addressed to Slobodan Milosevic, the President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. One particularly poignant letter from December 15, 1998, stood out:

> *Last night in Peja, terrorists killed six of our boys. The youngest, Ivan Obradovic, was not even 15 and the oldest of them was Ivan Radevic, a student aged 25. The other four weren't even 17. Believing in you and only in you we have remained living here in our in ancestral homes. We were born here, we have given birth to our children here, and now we are burying them here. All the trust we have in you as a President, as a patriot and as a parent obliges you to protect our children. It obliges you to protect the graves of our boys from being desecrated, the graves of our brothers, fathers and of our men who were killed during the antiterrorist actions defending the freedom of our citizens and the integrity of our country. Because of our mothers weeping at the foot of the 'Accursed*

[1] Cited from *Zločin albanskih terorista...*, p.107
[2] The motto of most protests in Kosovo, Serbia and Montenegro

Mountains,[1] *we beg you to eradicate terrorism, without any compromise, because the wrongdoing cannot be tolerated anymore!*[2]

William Walker, on behalf of 54 states of the OSCE, harshly condemned the violence that occurred in Kosovo.[3]

Through their political representative, Adem Demaci, the KLA condemned the terrorist act against the young Serbs and Montenegrins and dismissed any suggestion that their members participated in these killings.[4]

Rallies throughout Kosovo were organized even on the day of the funeral, December 16th, calling for the arrest and punishment of the people responsible for this criminal act, as well as protection of Kosovo's citizens from the Albanian terrorists.[5]

Who killed these young people? Who would benefit from the assassination of innocent civilians? The Albanians; the KLA? Or perhaps it was those who wanted to reframe the struggle of the Albanian people for self-determination as the action of terrorists.

The KLA Bombers

Seeking the perpetrators of the terrorist attack at Panda Bar in Peja, the Serbian Ministry of Interior Affairs announced that between the 14th and the 17th of December, 1998 they arrested Albanians Gazmend Bajrami (aged 20), Vllaznim Përgjegjaj (aged 19), Xhevdet Bajrami (aged 21), Beqir Loxhaj (aged 27), Agron Kollçaku (aged 26) and Behar Bajri (aged 18). During this period they arrested another 34 Albanians said to be accomplices in the terrorist attack at the bar.

The pursuit of others thought to be involved in this terrorist action continued throughout December. However, this was not in pursuit of

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[1] "Bjeshkët e Nemuna" part of „Dinarik Mountains, north of Albania, west of Kosovo and southeast Montenegro. The city of Peja is at the foot of these mountains.

[2] Cited from *Zločin albanskih terorista*..., p. 106.

[3] Ibid., p.107

[4] Vreme, nr. 427, "Kontrolisano krvarenje" (Controlled bloodshed), 26. 12. 1998 At : http://www.vreme.com/arhiva_html/427/3.html

[5] Cited from *Zločin albanskih terorista*..., p. 108

justice, however. The Serbians created a reign of terror on the pretext of "prosecuting the terrorists." More than 100 Albanians were tortured in order to "find" the offenders!

Only those who have experienced Serbian investigative methods first-hand can imagine the horror the detainees experienced at the hands of the investigators. The Serb's brutal torture forced the detainees to admit to charges against which they were innocent and to sign statements prepared by the investigators.

During this time, none of the "terrorists" were forced to "confess" to the killings in front of journalists, as with Bekim Mazreku in the Klecka case. Even so, the Serbian media contributed to manipulating public opinion around the investigation. An "Albanian terrorist" whose name was not publicised, allegedly to avoid jeopardizing the investigation, significant media coverage with a story that he "was arrested before the terrorist action had taken place, but in order to ensure the terrorists' success, did not speak until 21:30 hrs, by which time he was convinced that the action had been accomplished."[1]

In the process of exposing the case of the killings at Panda Bar, more than 100 Albanians were subjected to Serbian "investigation." Among them, six people were selected who "admitted" that as part of the KLA they had formed a special group called "Bombasi" and had killed many policemen in the villages of Prilep and Carrabreg in the Decani municipality. They also confessed to carrying out the assassination of the six Serbian and Montenegrin youngsters at Panda Bar."[2]

The use of a Serbian word, "Bombasi" as the name for this group is revealing. Since it is unlikely that an Albanian group would use a Serbian name, the choice suggests that these charges were entirely conceived in the political, investigative and judicial laboratories of the Serbian regime. On June 16th, 1999, KFOR forces entered the town of Peja, site of the district prison where detainees had been held and tortured during

[1] Vreme, no. 427, cited article
[2] The verdict of the district court in Leskovac, K.no 41/99 of 09.11.1999

the previous six months. When Serbian forces began withdrawing, they took the prison inmates as hostages. Among them there were Gazmend Bajrami, Vllaznim Pergjegjaj Xhevded Bajrami, Bekir Loxhaj, Agron Kollçaku, and Behar Bajric. On this day, when Peja celebrated its liberation from Serb forces, these six young Albanians underwent the second act of their tragedy. Their circumstances and tormentors were the same. Only the scene had changed.

Initially transferred to the County Prison in Leskovac,[1] the detainees were again tortured. Later they were transferred to Zajecar Prison,[2] and then returned to the Leskovac prison.

The trial began on October 18, 1999 in the district court of Leskovac. The six defendants were accused of the murder of the Montenegrin and Serbian youngsters at Panda Bar and the murder of Serbian policemen in the villages of the municipality of Decani.

The trial drew tremendous interest from the media and human rights organizations. At the commencement of the trial, all of the accused recanted their confessions and pleaded not guilty. The defendants explained that they had been forced to sign the statements of confession when in fact they had no involvement in any of the murders. In support of their story, the accused stripped their shirts off in the courtroom and displayed scars from the torture they had suffered. Horrific scars from stabs and burns terrified those present in the hall and caused chaos in the district court in Leskovac. Faced with this unpredictable situation, the judge adjourned the trial.

The adjournment of the trial suggests that even Serbian judges could not bear the shame of show trials based on statements extracted under torture.

The trial of the six Albanians from the "Bombasi" group resumed after three weeks, on November 9, 1999. All the defendants were acquitted of the murder of six young Serbs and Montenegrins in Panda Bar. The

[1] A city in the south of Serbia
[2] Another city in Serbia, bordered with Romania.

dismissal of these charges in the Panda Bar massacre was a huge blow to Slobodan Milosevic during the time he was still in power. Still, the accused were not released as innocent. The charges against them for the murder of several policemen in Prilep and Carrabreg - villages of the municipality of Decani - still stood.

The district court in Leskovac decided[1] that as members of this "terrorist group" and as members of the KLA who had killed policemen in the villages of Prilep and Carrabreg in the municipality of Decani, the defendants Gazmend Bajrami, Vllaznim Pergjegjaj, Xhevdet Bajrami, Beqir Loxhaj, Agron Kollcaku and Behar Bajri would be sentenced to a year of imprisonment, Perhaps the sentence of a year's imprisonment was some sort of compromise reached by the court as a result of their investigation during the trial's three weeks of cessation. Perhaps the defendants' confinement for an additional month in Serbian prisons fulfilled the sole purpose of not acquitting them completely. Many hypotheses can be drawn here, but without definitive answers. What is certain in this case is that no other country in the world would punish the killers of "the guardians of order" with such short sentences! This was unprecedented leniency by Serbian courts!! Or was this a clear indication that it had been a show trial? I will let the reader assess that.

The one-year prison sentence ended a month later on December 15th, 1999 and all six men were transferred to Kosovo, accompanied by the International Red Cross.

Undoubtedly, fully acquitting these six young Albanians would have implied culpability of the Serbian investigators who used torture to obtain false confessions. It seems obvious that eliciting a false confession under torture suggests that someone was trying to hide the real criminals! Who were those who needed protection, and who was trying to hide the evildoers?

[1] K.no. 41/99 of 09.11.1999

What was troubling Milosevic's conscience?

At first glance, the killings at Panda Bar had nothing to do with the trial of Slobodan Milosevic. Milosevic was not charged with the murder of these six young people. However, while the attempts to charge Albanians for the Panda Bar massacre had failed, Milosevic called witnesses to the stand to speak about this case on several occasions. Through the testimony of Mitar Balevic[1], Dragan Jasovic,[2] Radovan Paponjak[3] and other witnesses summoned by the defense, Milosevic tried to divert attention from his own guilt to the alleged "terrorists" who were killing innocent children![4]

That Milosevic spoke of the cruelty of the killing of innocent children is ironic, given that he orchestrated the killings of so many Croatian and Bosnian families in earlier wars, during which thousands of children were killed. The person who ordered the killing of the Jashari family in Prekaz, of the Deliu family in Upper Obri, and the killing of more than 1,300 children in Kosovo, and who through his propagandists dismissed these crimes as "doll shows," dared to speak about the killing of children. However paradoxical such an attitude may seem, what is important to keep in mind is Slobodan Milosevic's motive behind deploring the "cruelty of killing children." Was it only because the murdered children in this case were Serbs and Montenegrins, or was it that he was guilty of something else in regard to this case? We will never know, because even if the killers of the youngsters at Panda Bar are brought to justice, Milosevic's corpse has long decayed, along with the secrets of what passed for his conscience. The people serving the "Butcher of the Balkans" who

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[1] The trial against Milosevic, Witness Mitar Balevis, session April 8, 2005, p. 334-338 http://www.hlc-rdc.org/Transkripti/Milosevic/_Milosevic.html

[2] The trial against Milosevic, Witness Dragan Jasovic, session April 27, 2005, p. 184-187 http://www.hlc-rdc.org/Transkripti/Milosevic/_Milosevic.html

[3] The trial against Milosevic, Witness Radovan Paponjak, session May 5, 2005, p. 345-346 http://www.hlc-rdc.org/Transkripti/Milosevic/_Milosevic.html

[4] Testimony cited from Dragan Jasovic, April 27, 2005, p. 187 http://www.hlc-rdc.org/Transkripti/Milosevic/_Milosevic.html

carried out his orders will not speak about these crimes, except in cases where it might bring them some personal benefit. Only those who wish to reveal the secrets behind Serbian nationalism can open the doors to this "Yugoslav butchery" and see the horrors of a policy that included the murder of innocent civilians.

Who ordered the killings and who executed the crime?

Every year on the anniversary of the tragedy of December 14th, 1998 the families of the six young people would demand to know "why nobody was ever convicted for this crime, no one was held responsible." They wanted to know who gave the order, and who executed it.

Despite the fact that the apparatus of the Milosevic regime had completely failed in its efforts to cast the blame on the six Albanians, the Serbian media never ceased to speculate about this tragedy. Fifteen years after this incident, the Belgrade newspaper *Politika* asked EULEX authorities in Kosovo whether they were carrying out investigations on this case. The newspaper informed their readers that they had not received any answers.[1]

This public relations strategy is now a familiar one. It is not impossible that in the time to come, just as in the case of the Mazreku brothers, the political and media conductors of the old Serbian regime will orchestrate new accusations against international missions in Kosovo and against the judges of the district court in Peja for the alleged loss of files and documents related to this case.

In addition to attempts to lay blame outside Serbia, as in the case of the Klecka Crematory, journalists expressed disgust that the earlier arrest of such a large number of people had no results, but the newspaper *Politika* did not stop at that. It attempted to resurrect interest in the case by claiming that since the trial, any evidence or information having

[1] Politika, "Ko je ubijo moje dete", (Who killed my child), 14.12.2013 http://www.politika.rs/rubrike/Drustvo/Ko-je-ubio-moje-dete.lt.html

Slavko Nikic wearing a KLA uniform

to do with Daut Haradinaj, the brother of Ramush Haradinaj, had remained unverified![1] It is interesting to note that this was the first time the Serbian newspapers gave space to the views of the KLA representative, Adem Demaci[2] who attributed this crime to the Serbian Secret Service.[3]

Unsatisfied by the Serbian justice system, the victims' families went from door to door to find out more about this horrific crime. As Ljubisa Ristic, the father of Svetislav Ristic, who was killed at the Panda Bar said, "During all these years we have done everything we could to find the answer about who killed our children. We have asked for the initiation of investigations the same year the crime occurred, we have continued to ask afterwards, when the international community took over the administration of Kosovo. We have asked our government in Belgrade to do everything in their power so we could receive an answer. Everybody has turned a blind eye. No one showed the slightest inclination to take concrete steps in finding the murderers and bringing them to justice. I relive this as if our children are being killed again,"[4] said this parent, filled with pain

[1] Charges against Ramush Haradinajt were prepared by the Milosevic regime. Similiar charges were raised by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, but Ramush Haradinaj was acquitted of all charges. I will discuss this case further in the chapter devoted to negotiations on the final status of Kosovo.
Politika,cited article "Ko je ubijo moje dete"

[2] Adem Demaci is an Albanian writer from Kosovo, who served 28 years in prison under the Yugoslav communist regime. He is considered the Mandela of Europe. In 1991, The European Parliament awarded him the Sakharov Prize. During the war in Kosovo was the general political representative of the KLA.

[3] Politika, cited article "Ko je ubio moje dete"

[4] Svet, "Krvavi pir: Deceniju i po od stravičnog masakra u Peći još uvek se ne zna ko su ubice šestorice

and disappointment. pWhat are the real reasons that made the Belgrade authorities ignore the pleas of the victims' parents and do nothing to clear these killings?

In the epilogue of Chapter 1, I presented excerpts from the statement of Slobodan Stojanovic, the Serbian policeman who testified about the murder of the Serbian doctor Branimir Djokic in 1998. Stojanovic said that the Serbian policeman Goran Stamenkovic – Stamenko, killed Djokic because he knew too much about Serbian crimes in Kosovo and threatened to speak up. In order to conceal traces of this crime, Serbian investigators declared that "KLA terrorists" killed Djokic.

Fifteen years after this murder, the family of Branimir Djokic finally understood who the real killers of the doctor were. The fact that he was killed by a Serbian police officer because he did not agree with crimes against innocent civilians was supposed to serve as a kind of a condolence to them. This is inadequate, so it is up to the War Crimes Court of Serbia to file a lawsuit against the officer Goran Stamenkovic – Stamenko and other criminals around him. Punishing the killers who committed crimes in Kosovo, including the murderer of the Serbian doctor would be a much-needed contribution to the process of justice in Kosovo.

On July 26, 2000 the military court in Nis sentenced Miroslav Filipovic to 7 years in prison. Filipovic was a Serbian journalist working for the Belgrade newspaper *Danas*, for the *France-Press Agency,* and as an analyst at the Institute for War and Peace Reporting.[1] This Serbian journalist was sentenced for the "crime" of raising his voice against Serbian war crimes in Kosovo. I will discuss the arrest and its outcome in detail in the chapter dedicated to the Kosovo situation during the NATO bombing.

In this part of the book I will limit myself to certain information which can help present a different perspective on many of the cases left

mladića "
http://www.svet.rs/hronika/krvavi-pir-deceniju-i-po-od-stravicnog-masakra-u-peci-jos-uvek-se-ne-zna-ko-su-ubice-sestorice-mladica

[1] *Institute for War and Peace Reporting*.

unexplained and attributed to the "KLA terrorists" by Milosevic's regime.

In his article titled "The long journey to the truth about crime[1], Miroslav Filipovic says that, "Behind the formal Serbian government exists a formation of squads comprised of Serbs who were attacking Serbs and their properties in Kosovo, in order to increase interethnic tensions."[2]

These were Serbs who attacked Serbian properties and accused "KLA terrorists" of the attacks. These were Serbs who desecrated Serbian graves and accused the "KLA terrorists" of this vandalism. These were Serbs who were murdering Serbs and accusing the "KLA terrorists" of these killings. No matter how paradoxical it may seem, this was the reality imposed by the Milosevic regime in the late 20th century. Apparently, the political ambitions of this totalitarian regime required the annihilation of human values in general and human life in particular.

We find a striking example of this attitude in the first chapter when we look back at the statement of the Serbian police colonel, Slavko Nikic who expressed a slavish devotion to the views of the Serbian general, war criminal Ratko *Mladic.*[3]

Anyone who has read even a small amount about the war in Bosnia is aware that the name Ratko Mladic has become synonymous with the most terrible and ruthless criminals of this war, precisely for his indifference towards the lives of innocent civilians. And Slavko Nikic came to the Kosovo war to follow Mladic's example.

On the cover of his memoir, "Confession: Maybe," Slavko Nikic appears in a photograph wearing a KLA uniform and a black hat.

Interested in the implications of Nikic's attire in this photograph, the journalist Milomir Maric, asked him about it on the TV show *Chirilica*. Nikic confirmed that he was wearing a KLA uniform given to him by his friend, another Serbian police officer, which he said he wore on "certain

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[1] Republika, Miroslav Filipović,"Dugi marš ka istini o zlocinima", No. 263 http://www.yurope.com/zines/republika/arhiva/2001/263/263_16.html

[2] Ibid.

[3] Slavko Nikić, cited from*Nulta Krvna Grupa*, p. 8.

occasions." When asked to identify the officer, Nikic refused to reveal his name. "For the time being I don't want to mention his name, but we may have other shows where many things can be explained,"[1] said Slavko Nikic, angling for more TV time.

The journalist continued to press Nikic for the name of the Serbian officer who had given him this uniform. In order to assure the viewers that he was aware of this issue and its implications, the journalist insisted by turning to Slavko Nikic, "The person who gave you this uniform at that time was called Sumadinac?"[2]

"I don't know what he was called at that time", the Serbian police colonel said, "but Milomir Maric knows exactly who gave it to me,"[3] revealing without actually saying that he received the KLA uniform from a Serbian officer nicknamed "Sumadinac."

In relation to our main concern, the issue of who gave the KLA uniform to Slavko Nikic is secondary. What is important is to clarify for the reader *why* Nikic wore this uniform. What did he do when he was disguised as a KLA soldier? How many different uniforms did he wear in Kosovo? How many hats had he worn during different actions?

During the operation "SABLJA," whose purpose was to arrest the persons implicated in the assassination of Serbian Prime Minister Zoran Dzindzic, Slavko Nikic was among the members of the Ministry of Interior Affairs and the Serbian State Security who were arrested as "members of the Zemun Clan."[4]

It is worth mentioning that at this time, Serbian colonel, Milorad Ulemek-Legija led this criminal organization.[5] Ulemek-Legija received a maximum sentence[6] of 40 years imprisonment for his part in several

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1 Cirilica - Joca Jovanovic, Zoran Petrovic, Slavko Nikic 4/7 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ID1k3TKVfQo

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

4 Slavko Nikić, cited from, *Nulta Krvna Grupa*, p.171

5 Book "Legija i Zemunski Klan" of the author Marko Lopusina reveals many information about the acts of this criminal.

6 Maximum sentence foreseen by The Criminal Code of Serbia,

crimes: the assassination of the Serbian politician Ivan Stambolic; the assassination of the Serbian Prime Minister Zoran Dzindzic; the assassination of four members of the Serbian Renewal Movement; for the attempted murder of Vuk Draskovic, and many others.

Who is culpable of these crimes and others like them is a matter for speculation. A thorough, unbiased investigative process should seek an explanation of the cases that have so far been unresolved.

Finally, I cannot say for certain that Slavko Nikic took part in the killing of the six young Serbs and Montenegrins at the Panda Bar in Peja. However, one thing is obvious: while disguised in this uniform Nikic was surely not fighting against KLA soldiers.

EPILOGUE TO CHAPTER TWO

The Death Squad

Two weeks after the commemoration of the 15th anniversary of the massacre at Panda Bar, current Serbian Prime Minister, Aleksandar Vucic, then Deputy Prime Minister of the Serbian Government, stated in the show Teška Reč, on TV Pink that, "In Serbia the government was assassinating both those who think differently and also their opponents. This is a terrible problem for our country. I am talking about the government, part of which I have myself been, but have not taken part in such things. There are many terrible things we need to face, e.g. the killing of six young Serbs at Panda Bar in Peja in 1998. There is no evidence that the crime was carried out by Albanians, as it is assumed."[1]

Such a statement by the Deputy Prime Minister of the Serbian government had an explosive effect and raised hopes that eventually there would be another chance to clear some of the many unsolved crimes from this conflict. However, public skepticism of the claim that "Albanian terrorists" were behind this massacre and suspicions that Serbian state institutions were involved in this crime and its cover-up mobilized the structures of the old regime to make a last attempt to hide their culpability. To this end, the Belgrade newspaper Nedeljnik distributed information from "trustworthy" sources that these six young Serbs were assassinated by the British Secret Service MI-6, in order to provoke conflicts in Kosovo, to move the Serbs out and to instigate the war against Yugoslavia.[2]

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[1] Radijo-televizija Srbije, "Vučić: Država je ubila Ćuruviju", 29.12.2013 http://www.rts.rs/page/stories/sr/story/9/Politika/1482926/Vu%C4%8Di%C4%87%3A+Dr%C5%BEava+je+ubila+%C4%86uruviju.html

[2] Nedeljnik, "Engleska služba M-6 najverovatno ublila dečake u Peći" http://www.nedeljnik.co.rs/sr/dnevni-magazin/nedeljnik-saznaje-engleska-služba-m-6-najverovatnije-ubila-dečake-u-peći

To continue this manipulation of public opinion, Serbian media devoted special attention to this "discovery" by the newspaper Nedeljnik. If we take a look at the leading Serbian media we will see that articles related to this "discovery" dominated the headlines: "The British Secret Service MI-6 assassinated the young Serbs in Peja,"[1] "Shocking: British Secret Service MI-6 killed the youngsters in Peja,"[2] "Intrusion for the expulsion of Serbs: Did the British Secret Service MI-6 assassinate the young Serbs in Peja?!"[3] These are only a few of the many stories that attempted to raise suspicion on parties other than Serbian state institutions as the people responsible for the killings outside Serbia.

According to the claims of Serbian newspapers, the West was attempting to cover up this massacre, but significantly, Helen Hunt's Report[4] mentions that four members of MI-6 were in Recak.

The photograph illustrating many of the stories in Serbian media[5]

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[1] Vestinet, Britanska služba MI6 ubila srpske dečake u Peći, da isprovocira pogrom Srba i rat http://www.vestinet.rs/u-fokusu/britanska-sluzba-mi6-ubila-srpske-decake-u-peci-da-isprovocira-pogrom-srba-i-rat

[2] Srbin Info, "ШОКАНТНО: БританскатајнаслужбаМИ6 убиласрпскедечакеуПећи" http://srbin.info/2014/01/08/sokantno-britanska-tajna-sluzba-mi6-ubila-srpske-decake-u-peci-video/

[3] Kurir, "Uvod Za Pogrom Srba: Britanska služba MI6 ubila srpske deèake u Peæi?!" http://www.naslovi.net/2014-01-08/kurir/uvod-za-pogrom-srba-britanska-sluzba-mi6-ubila-srpske-decake-u-peci/8512586

[4] Kurir, cited article "Uvod Za Pogrom Srba:" The report and the person whose surname is unknown to those who revealed this "discovery" will be discussed in details in the next chapter.

[5] See article: Vestinet, "Britanska služba MI6 ubila srpske dečake u Peći, da isprovocira pogrom Srba i

To reinforce this claim, most of the articles added a photograph where you can see "four members of the MI-6 Service." It is important to note, however, that their faces have been blurred so that the individuals cannot be identified. Without any identification of the individual soldiers, the claim that they were involved cannot be verified. The "proof" that this photo represents is patently unreliable.

These stories died down without support from Serbian state institutions. Indeed, then Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandar Vucic, responded to these bogus allegations by rejecting any implication of the British Secret Service in the assassination of the six young Serbs and Montenegrins at Panda Bar.[1] In addition, many other individuals from Serbian political and intellectual circles spoke up in support of Vucic 's call to end the misattribution of the murders committed by the Milocevic regime.

In short, the position of Aleksandar Vucic opened a "Pandora's box" of unsolved crimes committed by the regime of Slobodan Milosevic.

It became apparent that this crime was committed by the leader of the Serbian state. No matter how shocking such information may seem, it was not surprising to some of the families of the victims of this tragedy.

Dragan Trifunovic's mother, Ljubica, in an exclusive interview for the newspaper Vesti said, "We are aggravated from our country."[2] This mother, who had knocked on doors to learn who had killed her son, explained in this interview,

> *Suspicions that our children had not been killed by Albanians appeared not long after the killings. I say this openly as a mother, let them punish me. The state has killed them and I hope it won't be long until we find out who had the courage to pull the trigger. To be killed by the state and have no one say anything for 15 years I think is one of the greatest secrets of the state. The time has come to eventually clear everything. This would*

rat" http://www.vestinet.rs/u-fokusu/britanska-sluzba-mi6-ubila-srpske-decake-u-peci-da-isprovocira-pogrom-srba-i-rat

[1] Blic, "Vučić: MI6 nije učestvovao u ubistvu srpskih mladića u Peći" http://www.blic.rs/Vesti/Hronika/434579/Vucic-MI6-nije-ucestvovao-u-ubistvu-srpskih-mladica-u-Peci

[2] Vesti, "Masakr dece je srpska sramota" (Massacre of children is a shame to Serbia) http://www.vesti-online.com/Vesti/Srbija/375876/Masakr-dece-je-srpska-sramota

at least ease our souls, the souls of the parents. We are really aggravated with the state and we demand to know who shot 60 bullets at these innocent young people."[1]

In an article[2] dated January 17, 2014 the Belgrade newspaper Kurir presented details about who in fact was behind this monstrous crime.

[1] Ibid.

[2] Kurir, "Rade Marković dao nalog da se ubiju srpska deca u Peći 1998?!", 17.01.2014 http://www.kurir-info.rs/rade-markovic-dao-nalog-da-se-ubiju-srpska-deca-u-peci-1998-clanak-1182597

Relying on Serbian government sources, the writer discovered that information related to the massacre at Panda Bar was disclosed by the former Head of Serbian State Security, Radomir Markovic. According to the claims of Markovic, "It was Milorad Ulemek-Legija who organized the execution of the young Serbs at Panda Bar.[1]

Faced with this situation as the truth began to emerge, Milorad Ulemek-Legija turned on his accuser and former boss, declaring that he was ready to testify that the order for the assassinations in Peja came from the head of the State Security Service, Radomir Markovic. Mutual accusations of culpability did little to help the State Security Service avoid liability for these crimes. "We do not know the evidence they possess, but it is a fact that the state is responsible for this crime, specifically the State Security," said Legija.[2]

The explanation that the Serbian state was behind this crime did not answer the question dominating Serbian public opinion: *Why* did the Belgrade regime assassinate Serbian children in Kosovo?

An answer was provided by Vuk Draskovic, president of the Serbian Renewal Movement, who was the Deputy Prime Minister of Yugoslavia and was in charge of foreign relations during the most difficult period of the war in Kosovo (January 18th to April 29th, 1999).

In an interview for the newspaper *Kurir,* Draskovic made the following announcement: *The decision to commit the series of crimes against the Serbs in Kosovo and the Albanians who supported Serbia and condemned the KLA, was made by Milosevic in his strategic headquarters. In charge of this death squad - the Special Operations Unit[3] was Milorad Ulemek-Legija. His orders came from Radomir Markovic, former Head of Serbian State Security Service, who was sentenced to 40 years in prison for giving the order for these murders either Another one who could be questioned on this matter is Guri.[4]*

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1 Kurir, cited article "Rade Marko"

2 Kurir, " Rade Marković dao nalog da se ubiju srpska deca u Peći 1998?! ", 17.01.2014 http://www.kurir-info.rs/rade-markovic-dao-nalog-da-se-ubiju-srpska-deca-u-peci-1998-clanak-1182597

3 In Serbian JSO (Jedinica za specielne operacije)

4 The person is a Serbian police general, Goran Radosavljevic- Guri of whom I'll speak in details in the next chapter.

It was decided that the State Security Service would carry out a series of terrorist attacks, blaming the KLA. The goal of these attacks was to portray the KLA, in front of the international community, as a terrorist organization. At the same time, through these actions they hoped to spark fire to the anti-Albanian mood in Kosovo and throughout Serbia. In view of this strategy, the Serbian State Security with Radomir Markovic in charge and the help of Milorad Ulemek-Legija, on December 14th, 1998 executed the massacre of the six young Serbians at Panda Bar in Peja.[1]

The confirmation by the politicians and officials from Serbian state institutions that Serbian state structures were behind these terrorist acts of killing innocent civilians was a great step towards the full disclosure of the events in Kosovo. Regardless of their self-serving mutual accusations, Milorad Ulemek-Legija and Radomir Markovic must be brought to justice for this and other crimes.

However, no matter how promising this new atmosphere of full disclosure might seem, the old logic remains widely present in the state institutions of Serbia. Often, masked as an uncompromising approach of the prosecution, negative messages have been sent to potential witnesses of these crimes. The prosecution's hard-line attitude suggests that testifying would not result in immunity for witnesses, who would likely be in extreme danger from those they accused if they were imprisoned. It is in this context that we must read the statement of the Prosecutor for organized crime in Serbia, Miljko Radisavljevic, who in a press conference said, "Milorad Ulemek-Legija cannot enjoy the status of a convicted person who cooperates with the prosecution, nor any other privilege."[2] This statement was designed to have a chilling effect on anyone who thought that they could get a lighter sentence or acquire protection by testifying.

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[1] Kurir, "Vuk Drašković: Milošević naredio Radetu i Legiji da ubiju srpsku decu!" (Milosevic ordered Radeta and Legija to kill the Serbian children) http://www.kurir.rs/vuk-draskovic-milosevic-naredio-radetu-i-legiji-da-ubiju-srpsku-decu-clanak-1185359

[2] Press, "Radisavljević: Ulemek neće imati nikakve privilegije zbog svedočenja" http://www.pressonline.rs/info/hronika/297131/radisavljevic-ulemek-nece-imati-nikakve-privilegije-zbog-svedocenja.html

In my opinion, this is the most effective thing the prosecution could have done to discourage anyone from speaking out about the monstrous crimes committed by the state structures of Serbia. The stance that former head of the Serbian Secret Service, Radomir Markovic took in his request for a pardon shows us another problem with the prosecution's reliance on testimony. In a statement addressed to Tomislav Nikolic, the President of Serbia, Markovic threatened that he would bring down Serbia if he were to reveal a complete record of the crimes against Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo.[1]

That a person who has been in charge of the Serbian Secret Service has referred to the list of crimes that were committed by Serbs against both Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo as "THE LIST THAT WOULD BRING DOWN SERBIA," is ominous. Such a claim hints at the tremendous scope of the crimes committed by the state against civilians of all ethnic groups and suggests a pattern of acts inducing inter-ethnic hatred and stigmatization of the KLA as a "terrorist" organization.

For fifteen consecutive years the list of the assassinated civilians whose deaths were attributed to the KLA has been an object of manipulation. In the last chapter of my book I will explore this issue in detail. For now, I hope that this discussion of the massacre at Panda Bar has revealed the grim reality behind the propaganda that attributed these killings to KLA "terrorists."

The families of the victims are still waiting for the perpetrators of this criminal act to be brought to justice. Their expectations and demands are absolutely justified, but in the context of these killings and their aftermath, we should also remember Gazmend Bajrami, Vllaznim Pergjegjaj, Xhevdet Bajrami, Beqir Loxhaj, Agron Kollcaku and Behar Bajri, all of whom were brutally tortured in order to force them to confess to these crimes. They should also receive compensation for all the suffering they endured.

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[1] Kurir, cited article "Vuk Drašković: Milošević naredio Radetu i Legiji da ubiju srpsku decu!"

CHAPTER THREE

PROLOGUE TO CHAPTER THREE

In the center of the village, inside the house that served as KLA Headquarters, the police found a computer that contained information about the terrorist brigade and a list of 126 terrorists who were in Recak. Four foreigners with American or English surnames were among them. They were foreign instructors or specialists.

Under fierce terrorist fire the police personnel were forced to withdraw towards Ferizaj. Then the terrorists entered Recak. Thus began the great deception; the one that was served to the world as the massacre of civilians by the Serbian police.

The bodies of dead terrorists were dragged out of a gully and the entrenchments, where there no corpses had been found before. The terrorists only changed the clothes of forty corpses and dressed them in civilian clothes, because there weren't enough clothes for all of them. Those in uniforms were sent to Budakova where they had probably been buried. Obviously, they didn't want the uniformed dead terrorists to be seen. The executed terrorists who fought devilishly all day long were supposed to appear as "peaceful civilians."

Together with the corpses, the terrorists collected the weapons as well, those that the police troops could not collect due to darkness and the wide-open space.

Early next morning William Walker, the executioner who wanted to hang Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia by the throat and make way for the bombings, made an appearance. This criminal began his bloody banquet. Walker gave instructions to the terrorists around him how to place the corpses to make it look like a massacre, an execution of civilians. Then he brought in the TV crews and the journalists. With a concerned face, obviously highly affected, William Walker made a

statement where he condemned the Serbian police for having committed a massacre.[1]

I hope that by the end of this chapter the reader will be able to decide if the "Recak Massacre" was a fabrication staged by certain circles to justify military intervention against Milosevic regime ad was alleged by a reporter from Belgrade Radio and TV station, or if this was just one of the "tragic accidents" the Albanians of Kosovo had to endure.

The War and the Media Lies

On 26 May 2000 the Belgian journalist Michel Collon, who was invited to speak to the Franco-Serbian Friendship Association in Lyon, began with the following phrase, "Every war starts with a media lie!"[2] To illustrate his position he told the audience that, "The Serbian massacre of Recak never happened, it was only a lie to trigger NATO intervention on Serbia."[3]

This journalist, who addresses the issue in his book titled *Monopoly*,[4] insisted that the legitimacy of military intervention was achieved as a result of media coverage of the "Recak Massacre." As an illustration of international media publicity, the author mentions "The largest francophone newspapers: *Le Parisien, Le Monde and Le Soir of Brussels* which brought evidence of smashed heads and amputated limbs of some 15 civilian corpses found in a gully near this quiet village."[5]

Using the same logic, in the article, "The Industry of Lies and the Imperialist War," the Italian philosopher, Domenico Losurdo, claimed that, "The Recak Massacre was terrible; mutilated and decapitated bodies. It is the ideal scene to provoke the wrath of international public

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1 Milovan Drecun, *Drugi kosovski boj* (Second Kosovo Battle) p. 23
2 Esprit Européen, "Michel Collon, l'anti-désinformateur" http://www.esprit-europeen.fr/perspectives_desintox_collon.html
3 Ibid..
4 Michel Collon, Monopoly- l'OTAN à la conquête du monde, Editions Epo, Bruxelles, 2000.
5 Esprit Européen, cited article, "Michel Collon..."

opinion. As we've learned from the war in Bosnia, the signs of torture, violated bodies and severed heads are widespread propaganda tools."[1]

In addition to describing these horrors, Losurdo raises the hypothesis that, "These victims might have been violated by the Albanian guerilla, rather than the Serbs."[2]

Domenico Losurdo's hypothesis that the Albanian guerillas might have violated the bodies in order to provoke public wrath, served as a fact for Michel Collon. Furthermore, this Belgian journalist suggested that these corpses had been transported from the battlefield then dressed as civilians and mutilated in order to make this case look so brutal in the media that NATO strikes against Yugoslavia would be "politically legitimate." Collon speculated that if this crime had not existed, NATO would have invented it just like in the fables where the wolf invented the crime of the lamb.[3] Michel Collon insisted on the authenticity of these claims.

Before examining the arguments of the authors which present the "Recak Massacre" as a "media disinformation" that served as a pretext to legitimate NATO strikes against Yugoslavia, I would like to consider for a moment the situation of January 15th, 1999. What really happened that Friday in January in the village of Recak, municipality of Shtime?

In the discussion of what really happened in Recak, I will avoid references to Albanian sources as much as possible. This is not because these sources are less credible; it is primarily to avoid this analysis being seen as a confrontation of two viewpoints: the Albanian viewpoint versus the Serbian viewpoint. I am fully convinced that the reader will be able to see the facts by removing "the Serbian truth" about Recak. A lot of space will be devoted to the Serbian interpretation of the "Recak Massacre" and the confrontation of this interpretation with an analysis derived from the investigation conducted by two teams of experts in

[1] Domenico Lasurdo, "Industrie du mensonge et guerre impérialiste" http://www.mondialisation.ca/industrie-du-mensonge-et-guerre-imperialiste/5349478?print=1

[2] Ibid.

[3] Esprit Européen, cited article, "Michel Collon..."

Forensic Medicine: the Serbian/Belarus team and the Finnish team.

What follows is a brief chronology of the events of January 15th, 1999. The commander of the police action in Recak, the Serbian general Goran Radosavljevic Guri, on a TV show called *Recak – the Lie and the Truth*,[1] explained the official position of the Serbian authorities, "The village Recak was a legitimate target, because there were no civilians there. The action had begun at 3:00 am."[2]

That morning, a team from the State Radio Television of Serbia, journalist Milovan Drecun, and camera operator Tomislav Magoci, stood side by side with the police. Initially, Tomislav Magoci was filming from the top of a hill near the village, and was to continue filming in the roads of the village later that day in the wake of a bulletproof vehicle. Belgrade Radio Television was broadcasting news continuously by their "on site" journalists. At 3:00 pm the Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs issued a statement claiming that in the fighting with the Albanian terrorist gangs, 15 terrorists were killed.[3]

That day, William Walker, head of the Kosovo Verification Mission (hereinafter KVM), of OSCE (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe), was on an official visit to Montenegro. His deputy, the English general Drewienkiewicz,[4] explained that on January 15th two events had occurred, one in Decan and one in Recak. He had set off to go to Decan and had requested General Maisonneuve[5] to go to Shtime.[6]

The observers were about 8 km away from the battlefield.[7] Although the bombing site could not be seen, the KVM members witnessed police

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1 Radio Televizija Serbije, "Račak - Laži i istine" (Raçak - the lies and the truth) http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RH2LB-n3RpI

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid. and in the article of the French Le monde, "Les morts de Racak ont-ils vraiment été massacrés froidement ?" (Were the killed of Reçak placidly massacred for real?), 21 January 1999 http://www.srpska-mreza.com/ddj/Racak/Articles/LeMonde990121.html

4 Karol John Drewienkiewicz

5 General Joseph Omer Michel Maisonneuve, head of KVM for the Prizren District Center.

6 Judicial Trial against Milosevic, witness Karol John Drewienkiewicz, 11 April 2002, p. 276. http://www.hlc-rdc.org/Transkripti/Milosevic/_Milosevic.html

7 In the text it's used 5 miles (1mile=1609 m); Testimony of Karol John Drewienkiewicz, 13 May 2002, p. 567.

and military actions in which heavy artillery was put to use (T55 tanks[1] and antiaircraft artillery). The involvement of the Yugoslav Army in the attack on Recak and the surrounding villages was also confirmed by Lieutenant Colonel Petrovici, a Serbian officer, during the meeting[2] with General Maisonneuve, on January 16th, 1999 at the headquarters of the Serbian Armed Forces in Ferizaj.

Testifying at Milosevic's trial, William Walker said that after his return from Montenegro, sometime in the late afternoon General Drewienkiewicz informed us that, "According to information from Loncar and the men around him, 15 KLA members had been killed in the fighting between the Serbian security forces and the KLA in Recak. However, no casualties or wounded members of the government forces were reported."[3]

After this disturbing information was delivered to KVM officials during the morning of January 16th, General Drewienkiewicz personally asked General Loncar to accompany him and William Walker to the village of Recak without a positive response."[4]

"Loncar had the opportunity to come with us at the site and see for himself what we had seen, but he refused"[5], said William Walker.

Why did the Serbian general refuse to accompany Walker and Drewienkiewicz to Recak? Was he aware of what had really happened in this village? Or, was his refusal to the KVM leaders hiding something more than just resentment of their apparent distrust of the Serbian official interpretation, which led to the KVM's demand to see what had happened in Recak first hand?

The Serbian police general who led the action, Goran Radosavljevic Guri, claimed that allegedly, "The clashes between the Serbian police

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1 Judicial Trial against Milosevic, witness Joseph Omer Michel Maisonneuve, 29 May 2002, p. 475-482. http://www.hlc-rdc.org/Transkripti/Milosevic/_Milosevic.html

2 Ibid., p. 480-482.

3 Judicial Trial against Milosevic, testimony of William Walker, cited session of 12 June 2002, p. 602. http://www.hlc-rdc.org/Transkripti/Milosevic/_Milosevic.html

4 Ibid., p. 572

5 Judicial Trial against Milosevic, testimony of Karol John Drewienkiewicz 13 May, 2002 p. 578. http://www.hlc-rdc.org/Transkripti/Milosevic/_Milosevic.html

and the terrorists were filmed by two foreign agencies as well, *Reuters* and *Associated Press*. They also filmed the killed terrorists and an entire arsenal of weapons: two machine guns, 36 automatic guns, two sniper that same day." In an attempt to manipulate public opinion, especially of those who had not read media accounts of this event, the police commander stated that, "The case of the killed terrorists was published in the French newspaper *Libération,"*[1] *without bothering to mention the author, the title of the article, or the publication date.*

To present additional information to the reader, in the following I will convey two long excerpts from two articles by the journalist Pierre Hazan, a special reporter from *Libération* in Kosovo. I hope that the parts of the article "*We Were Sure We Would All Die* ,"[2] in which the journalist brings evidence about what Recak inhabitants had to endure during the ten hours of attacks by the Serbian police and military. In addition, parts of the article related to the testimony[3] of an OSCE observer will enable the reader to understand the true reasons why the commander of the police action in Recak doesn't give an exact reference to the article in *Libération*.

> In an article titled *The Recak Massacre: The Story of a Key Witness,*[4] Pierre Hazan presents a first-hand account by an OSCE observer, introduced as "Mike": *Around 15:45, a quarter of an hour after the shooting had ceased the Serbian forces left the village. We decided to enter Recak. A dozen civilians were in a dreadful condition. One of them handed something to us and one of my men took it. All of a sudden we realized that the man gave us a part of a skull. Our interpreter explained*

[1] Ibid.

[2] Libération,Pierre Hazan , "Nous étions sûrs de tous mourir. Des habitants de Racak racontent les dix heures de massacre", 18 January 1999.
http://www.liberation.fr/evenement/1999/01/18/nous-etions-surs-de-tous-mourirdes-habitants-de-racak-racontent-les-dix-heures-de-massacre_261409

[3] Libération,Pierre Hazan, "Massacre de Racak: récit d'un temoin clé. Arrivé après la tuerie, il dément la thèse d'une mise enscène",27 Janvier, 1999,
(The Massacre of Reçak: the story of key witness. Had arrived after the killing, disproves the Serbian thesis of a possible staging").
http://www.liberation.fr/monde/1999/01/27/-_262191

[4] Ibid.

Recak, January 16, 1999 William Walker by the corpses of the villagers

that this man had just found his brother's dead body, his skull shattered. We saw a body. The bullet had hit the head and the skull was shattered to pieces. Villagers told us that about twenty men had been arrested. It was around 17:30 and very dark. I took five injured people, all civilians. This Friday, for the first and only time, a woman told us that the men had been sent for execution. She was very worried. Her daughter was wounded. We approached some 400 or 500 meters near the gully, but we didn't see anything. We left Recak at 18:00 hrs.[1]

The KLA soldiers were there. They found the dead bodies at the same time we did. Some of the media imply that they set up a play to make the massacre seem credible. They must have been very skilled in staging and acting. We took the shells as evidence: probably two dozens of shells and magazines. The KLA fighters took nine decapitated bodies of their friends. I saw some twenty corpses down in the gully, people who had been executed by a bullet to the head. More corpses were found around. According to what could be seen, these people had attempted to escape. Then I went to the village where the victims had been shot by a bullet in the head or while attempting to flee. I saw the corpse of a 12 year old

[1] Ibid.

boy with a bullet behind his neck next to his father's dead body. I saw the decapitated corpse of a man, who was found by his brother. His hair, which had been pulled off along with the skin of his head was still there. Were these corpses mutilated or had wild animals eaten their flesh? I don't know. His brother placed under his shoulders what was left of the head."[1]

In the article "We Were Sure We Would All Die,"[2] *Pierre Hazan began his story with the words of a child who was killed in this action. "Be careful Mom, they will kill you!" were the last words of Halim Beqiri, aged 12. A bullet hit him in the neck. He had blood in his mouth. I was two meters away. Serbs were shooting from all sides. I could not go any closer. They killed my husband as well. He was near to our son," confessed his mother, Emine.*

"The men were divided into several groups. Around twenty of them were sent above the village. We were told we would be sent to the police station. We could hear shootings from all sides," said Rama, a man in his forties. The rest of the group was sent down by the gully where the Serbian police were waiting there to execute them.

The corpses of these men were still on top of each other that Saturday, as they were killed. They had been executed from a close range. A death prepared and executed in cold blood. At 17:00 the Serbs withdrew. The survivors began to move. One of the first houses of the village, near the mosque, was the house of Azem Banosi[3] *aged 62. His decapitated corpse was near the house. His 55 year-old brother Bedri was looking for the head. Later on the villagers found it. There was a mutilated male body in the village as well. And a teenager had just found the corpses of his three brothers."*[4]

I think that the reader understands the motive of this Serbian police general in not providing specific information about the articles from the

[1] Libération,Pierre Hazan, cited article "Massacre de Racak…"
[2] Libération,Pierre Hazan , cited article "Nous étions sûrs …"
[3] It refers to Azem Banush Kamberi (see list of killed the Racak in the text below).
[4] Libération,Pierre Hazan , cited article "Nous étions sûrs …"

magazine *Libération*, where, according Serbian propaganda, images of the killed terrorists were published. The actual reason is that these two articles, along with hundreds of others related to this same tragic event, reveal who the true terrorists were in this war. Pierre Hazan continued his story: "Saturday afternoon, around 15:00 when General Walker, the head of OSCE Mission arrived, the survivors took Walker by the gully where twenty victims lay dead."

"They were all killed by a bullet in the head or behind their neck," William Walker stated without any doubt.

> After returning to Prishtina, at 18:00 Walker called a press conference and declared, *The Serbian police and military forces are to be held responsible for this massacre. A few days ago the Kosovo Liberation Army released 8 Serbian soldiers who had been held captive; therefore we expected a measure of reciprocity. What did we get instead? The killing of 40 innocent civilians! I want to know who ordered the killing. I will insist on justice being served. I am not a lawyer but in my opinion, this is a crime against humanity. I have required from the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia to send its experts within 24 hours, with or without an entry visa, and I advise the Serbian Government to grant them access to the Yugoslav territory.*[1]

Not only was Walker's advice completely ignored by the Belgrade authorities, but furthermore, on the day following his press conference on 17 January, 1999, the Belgrade Government held an extraordinary meeting to declare William Walker "persona non grata" and ordered him to leave Yugoslavia within 48 hours.

On the same day, based on the mandate of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, which had to do with armed conflicts and not with police operations against terrorists, the Belgrade authorities denied entry into Yugoslavia to the Tribunal's prosecutor, Louise Arbour.[2]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] INA.FR, Le nouvel affront de Milosevic, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gv1yB7O7Jpk

Clearly, this decision of the Yugoslav Government was an expression of the same concern that had engaged the Serbian authorities. The extent of the government's concern about media publicity about the events in Recak was revealed in the Washington Post, on January 28th, 1999. The Post reported what was learned from wire tapping of senior state officials of Yugoslavia. The wire tap confirmed that the Serbian Prime Minister, Nikola Sainovic, and the Serbian Interior Affairs Minister, Sreten Lukic, feared reactions to the attack on Recak and had discussed on how to reframe the massacre of civilians as a legitimate action of the government's troops against KLA soldiers.[1]

The commander of the police action in Recak, Goran Radosavljevic Guri, supplied additional evidence.

> *After Walker's statement, the staff had an immediate meeting. We thought about how to deny what had been rolling all day long throughout world TV channels and information agencies.[2] Then we decided to get back to Recak. Two days later, on January 17th, we entered the village. The remaining terrorists were still there. We arrived at the central part near the mosque, where they had put the victims."*[3]

In order to neutralize international resentment triggered by the television footage and the photographs of "The Recak Massacre," two journalists from Serbian state television, Milovan Drecun and Tomislav Magoci, offered journalists from different world agencies residing at Prishtina's Grand Hotel "the truth" about what had occurred in this village.

The text, distributed "in secret"[4] focused around a presentation of Recak as a village where, according to official propaganda coming out of Belgrade, the KLA terrorists headquarters was based; a village

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1 R. Jeffrey Smith, Serbs Tried To Cover Up Massacre; Kosovo Reprisal Plot Bared by Phone Taps. "Washington Post", 28 January 1999.

2 Večerne Novosti, cited article "Laž za..."

3 Ibid.

4 A large part of what was spread as "The Serbian truth" about Reçak is published in Milovan Drecun's Drugi kosovski boj, p. 20-26. The quotations below are excerpts from this book.

where there were no civilians. Forty-five KLA terrorists had been killed during the battle between the police forces and KLA, and there were no Albanian civilians among them. After the withdrawal of Serbian forces, the terrorists had entered Recak. They had gathered the bodies of the killed terrorists from all sides and lined them up in a gully to make it look like a mass execution, instead of people killed in fighting. To serve this end, they had stripped off the victims' uniforms and dressed them in civilian clothes, while the bodies of the terrorists that they could not dress up were sent to Budakova where they were probably buried. In the meantime, the KLA terrorists mutilated the bodies to create the impression that there had been a massacre.

To prove their claims that this event had been fabricated the authors presented the following "facts": no blood or bullet holes were found in the civilian clothes of the bodies which means that they had been killed while wearing different clothes,

- no blood was found on the necks of the decapitated bodies, which means that the beheadings had been conducted after the death of the terrorists,
- no blood was found at the site where the corpses were thrown, which means that they had been killed elsewhere,
- no shells were found around bodies, which means that there was no fighting in that site

the police found weapons and ammunition, uniforms and food reserves, a typewriter and the list of 126 terrorists who resided in the Recak Headquarters. Among 126 names in the list, four were foreign last names, most likely American or English. They were either instructors or foreign experts.[1]

Two written articles followed the distribution of this "truth" to the international journalist contacts of Milovan Drecun and Tomislav Magoci.

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[1] Ibid., p. 20-26

Renaud Girard, in his article "Black Clouds Over a Massacre,"[1] cast initial doubts about the veracity of Serbian characterizations of the events in Recak as a "massacre." It is important here to describe the context in which this article was written because it provides information that helps us understand how the author came to his conclusions. Renaud Girard was featured as a special guest in the documentary film *Recaku – the Lies and the Truth,*[2] a production of Serbian Radio Television. In the film he discussed several things relating to Recak. Here is the complete interview:

> *On Monday, when the article in Le Figaro was published, I met two people. One was a correspondent of Le Monde, who had arrived in Prishtina on Friday. He had not met anyone in the hotel, because all the journalists had gone to the west of Kosovo. The Serbs told him, "Go to Recak! Something interesting is happening there!"*
>
> *He arrived in Recak, most likely at around 15:30. His name was Christophe Châtelot. I asked him, "So, you've seen those dead people?" He said, "No! I haven't seen anything! There were three vehicles with American observers. They told me nothing special was going on. Only some fighting, nothing special! Then I met the Associated Press team, which was invited by the Serbian police to witness the operation on Friday. They spent the whole day with the police." I asked them, "Have you been to the center of Recak? Have you seen a massacre?" They said, "No! We haven't seen anything like that! We've been to the center of the village, by the mosque, but we didn't go up the hill." They told me they had seen the Serbian police coming down with a lot of weapons, which were probably taken from the Albanian guerrillas. At that time the Albanian Radio[3] was reporting that on a big battle against the Serbian forces, the Albanians had lost nine brave men in the battlefield! I asked them, "Have you seen the separation of men from women and children?"*

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[1] Le Figaro, Renaud Girard, "Nuages noirs sur un massacre",20/01.1999.

[2] RTS: "Raèak - laži i istine ", http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RH2LB-n3RpI

[3] Interesting, isn't it! "Associated press" journalists following the fighting live, are listening to Albanian radio!

They said, "No! Don't you get it? There were no women or children in the village!" I said, "Wow! Something is happening here. Can you show me your recorded material?" He showed me the footage from the center of the village, and no women or children could be seen. "But that Albanian woman told me that at 14:00, men were separated from women at the main square in the center of the village. Is it possible that you've missed that?"

"We can't say a thing about the gully! We don't know! We haven't been there!" I said, "Oh my God. This means that the Albanian woman lied to me!" [1]

Renaud Girard told the same story in another interview on September 28, 2005. His interview differed from the one on Serbian State Television in a single respect: Instead of the sentence above, he substituted the phrase "Then I told to myself I've been fooled!"[2]

After his conversations with Christophe Châtelot, the journalist from *Le Monde,* and with the crew from the Associated Press,[3] Renaud Girard wrote his article, "Black Clouds Over a Massacre."[4]

If Girard has not found out yet who fooled him, I hope that the reader will understand that the issue has nothing to do with "who fooled whom." It has nothing to do with a scam. It has to do with interpretations of events that have been shaped by political and ideological affiliations. The second article was published in *Le Monde* by special correspondent Christophe Châtelot, who arrived in Prishtina on January 15. The Serbs he spoke with directed him to Recak because there was "something interesting" happening there. In the article published in *Le Monde* on January 21,[5] 1999 titled '*Were the Killed Victims of Recak Really Massacred in Cold Blood?*'[6] Christophe Châtelot asks questions that were likely suggested by the Serbian journalists, *"How come there*

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[1] RTS, "Raèak - laži i istine", http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RH2LB-n3RpI

[2] Frédéric Saillot ,De l'utilité des massacres, Volume 2, p. 79.

[3] The journalists whose names will never be mentioned**!**

[4] Le Figaro, cited article "Nuages noirs ...",

[5] I.e. 6 days after the Massacre!

[6] Le monde, cited article "Les morts de Racak ..." http://www.srpska-mreza.com/ddj/Racak/Articles/LeMonde990121.html

Banush Azemi, decapitated!

is so little blood and so few shells around the bodies at a site where 23 people had been executed? Isn't it possible that the bodies of the Albanians killed by the Serbian police during the fighting were moved to this gully, to create a scene of horror which would terrify the public and mobilize public opinion?"[1]

Christophe Châtelot is not the only one to claim that there was a suspicious lack of blood around the bodies. Although Banush Azemi's decapitated body is a terrible thing to look at, it was argued that given the low volume of blood present, it is doubtful that he was alive when his head was removed. It is much more likely that his head was removed after he was killed by the police in order to make his death in battle look like cold-blooded murder. Consider the scale of this fabrication: the reader must to judge the degree of manipulation by those who pretend to have been in Recak and to have seen corpses with little blood and not so many shells around.

[1] Ibid.

In the beginning, Renaud Girard's and Christophe Châtelot's articles were rather marginal compared to the many articles which framed the events as a heinous crime against Albanian civilians. The person blamed for this crime was Slobodan Milosevic, who by then had not complied with the recommendations of the international institutions to find a peaceful solution to the Kosovo issue. Furthermore, he had not taken seriously any of the threats for eventual use of force on his regime in case the ongoing violence against Albanians did not come to an end. Milosevic's arrogance was well known by all those who had been following the disintegration of the Yugoslav Federation and the wars in Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia.

Exposure and International Pressure

Unlike the war in Bosnia and Croatia, the reactions of powerful public figures from the international political scene and of the international institutions were immediate and extremely vigorous. Members of the Security Council of UN condemned the killings that occurred in Recak and expressed a deep regret for the expulsion of the Head of OSCE, who had their full support.[1]

On January 18th, 1999, NATO sent General Wesley Clark, the Supreme Commander of Allied Forces in Europe, and the President of the Military Committee, General Klaus Naumann to Belgrade to inform Slobodan Milosevic that the situation in Kosovo was unacceptable.[2] At the same time, the two generals demanded thatMilosevic to cooperate with the international inspectors who would investigate the Recak Massacre and identify and bring to justice the perpetrators of the massacre. They demanded that withdraw the decision to expel the Head of Kosovo Verification Mission, William Walker. If such agreement were not reached, NATO would not rule out the use of military force. "The

[1] INA.FR, cited video: Le nouvel affront de Milosevic

[2] NATO, "Meeting in Belgrade between NATO Generals Wesley Clark and Klaus Naumann and the Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic"
http://www.nato.int/cps/fr/SID-F8C52692-50A670C9/natolive/news_27391.htm

military activation order was on the table," said the US Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright.[1]

In this context, Milosevic agreed to the investigation of the case. But, instead of international experts, Milosevic appointed an investigative judge from Prishtina District Court, Danica Marinkovic, to conduct the investigations and solve the case. He appointed the judge renowned for manufacturing the show trial of the Mazreku brothers and for staging the "Klecka Crematorium!"[2] She was the same investigative judge who, in the presence of thirty members of the Serbian Anti Terrorist Special Units, ordered the killing of the wounded civilians of the Ahmetaj family in Likoshan on February 28, 1998. She then ordered weapons and grenades to be put near the civilian corpses in order to create a rationale for the murders and manipulate public opinion.[3]

To give the impression that they were interested in solving the Recak killings, the Serbian Government ordered the establishment of a committee composed of pathologists and forensic experts to explain the forensic aspect of these killings. The members of this team were: Dr. Slavisa Dobricanin, head of the Institute of Forensic Medicine in the Faculty of Medicine in Prishtina, who was appointed to this position after the expulsion of Albanian professors and students from this institute; Dr Vujadin Otasevic, professor of Forensic Medicine at the Nish University (Serbia); Dr. Dusan Dunjic, professor of Forensic Medicine at the University of Belgrade (Serbia); Dr. Milos Tasic, professor of Forensic Medicine at the University of Novi Sad (Vojvodina).

To give their team an "international" character, Serbs included two pathologists from Belarus, Dr. Vladimir Kuzmichev and Dr. Oleg Levkovich.

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[1] INA.fr, "La menace de l'OTAN", http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=55AaRkvace8
[2] Topic discussed in the first chapter of this book.
[3] Natasa Kandic, cited article "Uznemiravajuca istina"

Criminals return to the crime scene

Let us go back to the police expedition of January 17th. During the expedition of collecting the dead bodies from the village of Recak, the investigative judge, Danica Marinkovic and the professor of Forensic Medicine, Slavisa Dobricanin accompanied the Serbian police. Similar to the "Klecka Case," Danica Marinkovic invited the journalists to look around the site and act as witnesses. As seen on a special edition of Belgrade TV, as soon as she entered the mosque where thebodies had been placed, she said: "All these are men, there are no women or children here, and they are not massacred as the Albanians have tried to present it."[1]

Later, the journalists were invited to see the "KLA Headquarters," where the Serbian police had "found" the list of 126 KLA soldiers, plus photographs, uniforms, weapons and ammunition.

The journalists were given the opportunity to see the 40 corpses in the mosque and the 40 weapons displayed on this occasion: two machine guns, 36 automatic rifles, two sniper rifles, hand grenades and ammunition. The scene was set with the same actors as in the village of Klecka.

"The Serbian security forces took out the bodies of the killed terrorists from Recak. The bodies were transported to the Prishtina Institute of Forensic Medicine."[2] The Serbian Forensic Team began the work immediately. Meanwhile, Milosevic agreed to add a Finnish Forensic Medicine Team to the local forensic workers. The Finnish team had been delegated by the European Union for this case*, and it consisted of* Helena Ranta – team leader, Antti Pentilla, Kaisa Lalu, Juha Rainio, and their technical staff, photographers, etc. Along with the appointment of Forensic Medicine Team that would commit to solving "The Recak Case," Western diplomacy mobilized as never before. The Contact Group[3]

[1] RTS, quoted TV show, "Kosovo: Racak ."
[2] Večerne Novosti, cited article "Laž za..."
[3] The Contact Group for Kosovo was consisted of Foreign Affairs ministers of Great Britain, France, Germany, North Ireland, Italy, Russian Federation and the USA.

for the former Yugoslavia, in a meeting in London on January 29, 1999, came to the decision to hold a conference with international mediation. This meeting determined the framework of negotiations and in particular the ten principles[1] accepted in advance by all parties which were not to be a subject of negotiations in this conference:

The necessity of an immediate halt of violence and respect of the ceasefire;

- A peaceful solution of the crisis through dialogue between the conflicted parties;
- A transitional period of three years, before the final solution;
- Any unilateral violation of the transitional status of the province was prohibited;
- The territorial integrity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the neighboring countries must be respected;
- Protection of the rights of members of all ethnic communities (identity, religious institutions, education);
- Free elections under the supervision of OSCE;
- Judicial immunity for acts committed during the conflict in Kosovo, except for cases of war crimes and crimes against humanity;pAmnesty for and release of political prisoners;
- International participation and full cooperation of both parties in solving the crisis

The statement of the Contact Group suggested that the party that would refuse to abide to the recommendations and would sabotage the success of this conference would be held responsible for the failure. A day later, the NATO Council released a statement[2] in support of the above-mentioned demands.

In paragraph four of their statement, the NATO council stated that

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[1] I have translated the ten principles as they were published in *Le monde diplomatique*, http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/cahier/kosovo/rambouillet

[2] Déclaration du Conseil de l'Atlantique Nord sur le Kosovo, Communiqué de presse (99) 012, 30 January 1999
http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/1999/p99-012p.htm

"the crisis in Kosovo remains a threat to the peace and security in the region. NATO's strategy was set to bring an end to the violence and to reach an interim political agreement for Kosovo, which would enable avoiding a humanitarian disaster."[1]

If a party to the agreement failed to comply with these international commitments, they would bear the consequences as per paragraph 5 of the NATO Council Statement. In the case of any sabotage to the operations of the agreement by the Belgrade authorities, "NATO Council will, with the approval of the Secretary General, authorize air strikes on targets in Yugoslav territories. Whereas, in case of Albanian side fails to comply, NATO would undertake appropriate measures against them."[2]

In this statement and others that declared their position, "NATO reminded that those responsible for the Recak massacre will have to face justice and that the FRY authorities would be expected to fully cooperate with the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia."[3]

Both the Contact Group Statement and the NATO Council Statement represent the crucial turning point in dealing with the Kosovo issue. Serbia considered Kosovo to be an internal issue and refused any international mediation. Thus, imposing an international mediator in the efforts to find a political solution was considered by the Yugoslavia of Milosevic to be an ultimatum.

The Serbians saw the Recak Massacre as a catalyst of international mobilization through the Contact Group and NATO council decisions, so the Serbian team of Forensic Medicine attempted to establish that, "no massacre had occurred in Recak!" On January 30 1999, a few hours after the publication of a press release by NATO's Council, the Serbian team of forensic experts released a communiqué[4] stating the results of their

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[1] Ibid.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.
[4] ARCHIVE: Racak forensics
http://www.srpska-mreza.com/guest/sirius/KLA-Racak-Forensics.html

preliminary investigation to the public. Their statement follows:

"Before beginning the autopsies, the criminal investigation service in Prishtina took palm and finger prints in foil;

- On the basis of autopsies, it was found that in all cases the death had been caused by effects of firing projectiles from firearms;
- There were no signs of sharp weapons being used in any of the organs, before or after the death, thus no decapitations had been found;
- No traces of gunpowder was found in any of the bodies, which means there were no executions or killings from a close range;
- There were two injuries where it was impossible to determine the distance of shooting;
- And finally, in particular, it was emphasized that the work of all forensic experts who took part in the above examinations had been of a high professional level and it was conducted with full trust and mutual respect."[1]

The Rambouillet Conference[2]

Despite all the remarks and the resistance for participating in this international conference for Kosovo, the Serbian-Yugoslav delegation and the Kosovo delegation arrived in France on the date set by the Contact Group!

On February 6, 1999 in Rambouillet, France, both delegations received "The draft of a transitional project about peace and self governance in Kosovo" which was in accordance with the 10 principles mentioned above.

A big part of what happened during this conference, and particularly the developments within the Kosovo delegation and the relations of this delegation with the international mediators have been described

[1] Signed in Prishtina, 30 January 1999, by Dr. Slavisa *Dobricanin*, Dr Vujadin Otasevic,dr. Dusan Dunjic Dr. Milos Tasis, Dr. Vladimir Kuzmichev and Dr. Oleg Levkovich. http://www.srpska-mreza.com/guest/sirius/KLA-Racak-Forensics.html

[2] City in France.

thoroughly in books of Rexhep Qosja[1], Blerim Shala[2], Edita Tahiri[3], Jakup Krasniqi[4]and Rame Buja[5].

These books are essential for anyone who wishes to study this period in the history of Kosovo. Their translation in different world languages would be very important for all foreign researchers who are unable to read them in Albanian language. Since the developments in this conference are only indirectly related to the topic of my research, I will not focus on these very important sources. In my study I will focus in the interpretation of this conference as, "an American conspiracy to destroy a sovereign state and its colonial occupation by NATO."[6] In this context, the Serbian sources, especially those drafted by the instruments of Milosevic's regime propaganda, are the main sources that served as a central point for the 'arguments' of the 'critical analysts'. The Serbian-Yugoslav team consisted of Ratko Markovic, deputy-prime minister of Serbia and head of delegation at the same time; two deputy-prime ministers: Nikola Sainovic of the Federal Government, and Vladan Kutlesic of the Serbian Government; the President of the Assembly of Serbia, Vladimir Stambuk and the representatives of the ethnic communities of Kosovo who want to live in Serbia and Yugoslavia.[7]

Within 'the representatives' of the ethnic communities of Kosovo, which intended to give the Serb-Yugoslav delegation a 'multinational' character, *Slobodan* Milosevic and his wife, Mirjana Markovic, appointed the head of the Socialist Party of Serbia for Kosovo and Metohija Vladimir Stambuk as the representative of the Kosovo Serbs; the Turkish community was presented by two representatives, Zejnelabedin Kurejshi

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1 Rexhep Qosja, Paqja e përgjakshme, "Toena", Tiranë, 1999, p. 437.
2 Blerim Shala, Vitet e Kosovës: 1998-1999, "Gama", Prishtinë, 2001, p. 432.
3 Edita Tahiri, Konferenca e Rambujesë (bilingual Albanian and English), "Dukagjini", Pejë, 2001, p. 524.
4 Jakup Krasniqi, Kthesa e Madhe, Shtëpia Botuese "Buzuku", Prishtinë, 2006, p.302
5 Ramë Buja, Kosova në krizën Jugosllave, botoi AAB-Riinvest, Prishtinë, 2011, p. 478.
6 Michel Collon, cited book, Monopoly..., p. 40
7 Večernje Novosti, "Kako JUL kaže" (The way JUL says) http://www.novosti.rs/dodatni_sadrzaj/clanci.119.html:276454-Kako-JUL-kaze and Jedinstvo, "Dijalog-uslov postizanja mira" (Dialogue, a condition to reach peace) "Zaštititi kulturne i istorijske spomenike" (Cultural and historic sites must be protected), 04.02.1999

and *Guljbehar* Rauf *Sabovic;* the Gorani community was represented by Ibro Vajti; Refik Senadovic represented the Muslims; Luan Rama was a representative of Roma community; Qerim Abazi was appointed to represent the Egyptian and Ashkali community, whereas the Kosovo Albanians were represented by Faik Jashari and Sokol Qysja![1]

Belgrade newspaper Večernje novosti was very critical to the selection of the Serbian delegation which was appointed to represent the country in the Rambouillet Conference. According to this newspaper, "instead of sending prestigious and relevant people, the two ruling political parties[2] sent people that have disappointed most of the political subjects and the Serbian population."[3]

To create the impression that Faik Jashari and Sokol Qysja represented Kosovo Albanians, the Belgrade regime propaganda introduced both of them as chairmen of two Albanian political parties! For the Milosevic regime, Faik Jashari was the chairman of the Kosovo Democratic Initiative, whereas Sokol Qysja was the chairman of the Democratic Reform Party. In reality, none of them were leaders of political parties. They had no integrity to represent their own families, let alone the Kosovo Albanians. In this context, another Belgrade newspaper called *Vreme,* dated 13 February, 1999, published the article of Faik Jashari's family who distanced themselves from this member of the Serbian delegation, thus making it publicly clear that he could not represent them politically. Hence, he could only represent himself in this conference![4]

On the other hand, the Kosovo delegation consisted of leaders of the main political parties (LDK[5] and LBD[6]), KLA representatives[7] and two

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1 Večernje Novosti, cited article "Kako JUL kaže", and Vreme, br. 434, "Ko su pregovarči" (Who are the negotiators), 13.02.1999
http://www.vreme.com/arhiva_html/434/3.html

2 Serbian Socialist Party of Slobodan Milosevic and the United Yugoslav 'Left hand' of his wife, Mirjana Markovic

3 Večernje Novosti, cited article "Kako JUL kaže"

4 Vreme, cited article "Ko su pregovarči"

5 Democratic League of Kosovo

6 United Democratic Movement

7 Kosovo Liberation Army

representatives from the civil society: Ibrahim Rugova, Fehmi Agani, Bujar Bukoshi, Edita Tahiri, Idriz Ajeti, Mark Krasniqi, Hashim Thaçi, Jakup Krasniqi, Azem Syla, Ramë Buja, Xhavit Haliti, Rexhep Qosja, Hidajet Hyseni, Mehmet Hajrizi, Veton Surroi and Blerim Shala.

Contrary to the Serbian-Yugoslav delegation, which could not decide on anything without consulting Belgrade, the Kosovo delegation had full legitimacy and power to take the necessary decisions.

On the opening speech of the conference, the President of France, Jacques Chirac said, "The framework of the negotiations is clearly defined by the Contact Group. The principles of substantial autonomy will be presented to you. You must specify them, shape them within the existing boundaries, so that all residents of the province, regardless of their origins, can live in peace and respect one another's individuality and rights. You can choose if you want to continue the tragedy of the past or the hope for a life that takes shape. The international community is unanimous and mobilized. Its action is not concentrated against anyone. It is in everyone's interest. But, you should know that France, as well as other European, American and Russian partners shall not tolerate the continuation of the conflict which violates the basic principles of human dignity. We shall not approve any violation that threatens the stability of the Southeastern Europe. I say to the representatives of both parties, Serbians and Albanians that peace is in your hands. I urge you to let the forces of life triumph over the forces of death."[1]

During his speech, the French President announced that the Contact Group had entrusted the task of steering the meetings to the Foreign Minister of the UK, Robin Cook and to the French Foreign Minister, Hubert Védrine.

Instead of immediate halt of violence and respect of ceasefire, which was set as the first principle by the Contact Group, the Strategic

[1] Vie Publique, "Discours de M. Jacques Chirac, Président de la République française, sur les enjeux de la négociation pour l'avenir de la paix en Europe et l'objectif d'un accord entre les belligérants serbes et kosovars sur l'autonomie substantielle du Kosovo, Rambouillet le 6 février 1998" http://discours.vie-publique.fr/notices/997000031.html

Headquarters[1] of Milosevic goes to action. The readers will recall from Chapter II, where I discussed the murder at "Panda Bar" that this Headquarter had brought a decision through which the State Security Service was supposed to carry out terrorist attacks on Serbian and Albanian civilians, which later would be labeled to KLA. Through this strategy KLA was due to appear in the eyes of the international community as a terrorist organization and at the same time to encourage anti-Albanian mind-set in Kosovo and throughout Serbia.

The huge concentration of media on the opening day of the International Conference on Kosovo was a very convenient opportunity for applying this strategy. So it happened. On February 6, 1999 from a blast in Ulpiana, a neighborhood in Prishtina, three Albanians were killed: Enver Shala (52), a shop owner, Agon Ajeti (20) and Vlora Humolli (18). This terrorist act was a very bad message and a huge blow against the principles upon which the negotiations were supposed to be based. Minutes after this terrorist attack occurred, the political authorities of Belgrade released a statement naming this, "a bomb attack against the agreement for Kosovo!"[2] At the same time, they informed that the person appointed to solve this case was the investigative judge, Danica Marinkovic!

Upon assuming duty, this well known judge to the reader, spoke to the media about the attack on the Albanian-owned shop and blamed the "Albanian terrorists" who, according to her, "are killing Albanians who are loyal to Republic of Serbia!"[3]

The bomb attack in Prishtina and the murder of the three Albanian civilians were also presented at the conference. Both delegations condemned this terrorist act."[4]

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[1] I wrote about the strategy of this Headquarter in Chapter Two, but I will return to the topic in the following chapters.

[2] Večernje novosti, "Bombama protiv dogovora o Kosmetu" 08.02.1999

[3] Politika, "Osuda terorističkog napada na trgovinsku radnju", (Terrorist attack on a shop condemned) "Atak na slobodu dostojanstvo građana Prištine" (Attack on the freedom and dignity of citizens of Prishtina), 8 February 1999, Večernje novosti, "Stradali nedužni" (Innocent people died), "Miniranje razgovora" (undermining the negotiations) "Bombama protiv dogovora o Kosmetu" (bombs against the agreement for Kosovo), 8 February 1999

[4] For all those who may be interested to see how this event was presented in the Serbian press, I've

Though the participants of the conference condemned the terrorist act that took the lives of three Albanian civilians, and though the Kosovo delegation sought ceasefire to be signed to halt the fighting in Kosovo, the following days were full of violent crimes against Albanian civilians. Thus, in the outskirts of Gjakova[1] a male corpse (around 25 – 30) was found. Before identifying the victim, the Serbian press rushed to blame the "Albanian terrorists" on killing a citizen who was loyal to Serbian state![2] Danica Marinkovic informed that somewhere near Lipjan they found the corpse of another victim who was around 25 – 27 years old, killed by a firearm; another dead body of a male was found near Kacanik; Luigj Metaj (26) was killed in Novosello near Gjakova and Skender Lekaj (25) was heavily wounded; Sebahate Zuka (17) and Xhemajl Smaci (20) were also among those found dead.[3]

Although they were too young to be "loyal citizens of Serbia", the Serbian press did not hesitate to classify them as such.[4] According to the political and media viewpoints of Belgrade these "terrorist actions were carried out to cast a black shadow to the negotiations, and probably question the results. The terrorists do not want peace!"[5] This the Serbian journalists stated in a choir!

Besides killing the Albanians, all Serbian newspapers informed that, "in the center of Vushtria[6], four Albanian terrorists, one of them

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brought some of the most interesting headlines: "Na predlog državne delegacije svih učesnici skupa osudili teroristički napad u Prištini" (As proposed by the state delegation, all participants condemned the terrorist attack in Prishtina), "Politika" 08/02/1999/; "Stradalo 14 osoba" (14 People Die),, "Politika" 08/02/1999, Pristina, 07/02/ (Tanjug); "Bombama protiv dogovora o Kosmetu..." (Bombs against the agreement for Kosovo), (Rambuje, Francuska 07/02 /1999, (Tanjug); "Atak na mir" (Attacking peace), "Ekspres i Politika" 08/02/1999, (Rambuje, Francuska 07/02 (Tanjug); Poginulo troje civila (Three civilians die), Priština, 08/02/ Tanjug ; Jedinstvena osuda iz Rambujea (Unanimous condemnation from Rambouillet), RAMBUJE (Beta/Rojters/AFP); Pregovori u Francuskoj, terorizam na Kosmetu (Negotiations in Paris, terrorism in Kosovo) "Politika" 10/02/1999/

1 City in Kosovo

2 Danas, "Pronađena tela pet ubijenih osoba", 9 February 1999,

3 Ibid.

4 Articles of Serbian newspapers are mentioned in the bibliography, where the reader can see the consensus of Serbian journalists that describe the killed Albanians, without an exception, as citizens loyal to Serbia.

5 Aforementioned articles

6 City in Kosovo

wearing a KLA uniform, robbed the house of a Serbian woman (Stanka Scepanovic, aged 43), who was a single mother raising her child alone. During the robbery, her sister's four children were in her house, too. The family was not mistreated, but her hunting rifle had been taken away!"[1]

Looters in KLA uniforms!

Even in this context, the sayings of the Serbian publicist, Miroslav Filipovic, that Serbia had formed the, "Squads of Serbs who would attack other Serbs and their property in Kosovo in order to create inter-ethnic tensions."[2] This decision had paved the road to numerous hypotheses about investigating and solving these cases. One thing is certain! Serbian police colonel, Slavko Nikic, wasn't the only person to carry out violent crimes in Kosovo while dressed in KLA uniform. In the first chapter, I mentioned the killing of the Serbian doctor Branimir Djokic by the Serbian police officer, Goran Stamenkovic – Stamenko and then accusing on the "KLA terrorists" for this murder.

The press also presented another act of violence on Kosovo Serbs, "On the main road of Gjakova a terrorist attack was carried out on the house of a Serbian family. Nobody got hurt!"[3] Whereas, "on February 18, five Serbian houses were looted by the Albanian terrorists where they stole electrical appliances."[4]

On the same day, it was announced that, "On the Rahovec – Malishevo road, they found the body of Milaim Morina, whose murder was attributed to the Albanian terrorists."[5]

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1 Politika , "Teroristi pokrali samohranu Majku" 10.02.1999
2 Ogledi Republika, Nr. 263, Miroslav Filipović, "Dugi marš ka istini o zlocinima" http://www.yurope.com/zines/republika/arhiva/2001/263/263_16.html
3 Jedinstvo, "Oštra osuda najnovijih terorističkih napada", 19.02.1999
4 Politika, "Opljačkano pet srpskih kuća", 19.02. 1999
5 Novosti, "Ubijen Morina", 19 February 1999

Murders of Albanian civilians and burglaries on Serbian houses occurred on the entire territory of Kosovo! From all the murders that took place during this period, only one of the casualties was ethnic Serbian civilian! Serbian media gave huge publicity to this event. Without any prior investigation of the murder the Serbian newspaper *Jedinstvo* printed in Prishtina in the article, *The New Crime of Albanian Terrorists*[1] many details about this event. For example, *"On February 18, in the village Pestova in Vushtria, Marjan Jovic was found dead. He had been killed while returning home from his neighbor's house, Bozidar Jaric, around 21:30. His body was found the next morning near the house of a woman named Jadranka Simetic. Marjan's mother told the journalists that her son called for help, but she couldn't dare to go outside and offer any kind of help. The old woman had been terrified, because she had noticed three terrorists walking down the street."*[2]

From evening until morning nobody had seen this corpse, nor has heard any gun shots. Only an old mother had noticed three terrorists! And she didn't dare to go out and help her son! I'll let the reader decide whether the Serbian interpretation of this murder is, or is not reliable!

If the identity of the authors of these murders was a subject to speculations, what was very clear is that all this violence was related to judicial processes, and that this violence was inconsistent with the demands to cease all forms of violence.

Instead of preparing for the completion of the international demands to release the political prisoners, the Serbian courts mobilized even further. Thus, on February 18, 1999 the day when the negotiations in Rambouillet were approaching the end, Peja District Court convicted and sentenced many Albanians on terrorism: Rexhe Jakupi and Izet Morina were sentenced to four years each; Ismet Gashi, Ramadan Gashi and Jahir Agushi to three years and six

[1] Jedinstvo, "Novi zločin albanski terorista" and "UbijenMarjanJović", 20-21 February 1999
[2] Ibid.

months each; Bajram Berisha to two years, whereas Zaim Gashi and Ramadan Bacaj to six months of prison each.[1]

This behavior of the Serbian judicial authorities was a clear message that Serbia would not respect principles 8 and 9 determined by the Contact Group, which required the release of the political prisoners and judicial intermission of offensive acts committed during the conflict in Kosovo. Based on the determined principles, only those implied in war crimes or crimes against humanity would be persecuted. The context of announcing these penalties, which coincides with the date when the negotiations were being concluded, among others the release of the political prisoners and the amount of penalties from seven months to four years in prison for "terrorist actions", proved the farce of these mounted judicial processes which were ordered by the political structures.

During the two weeks, the delegations worked totally separate from each other and the communication between them was conducted through mediators of the international community: Christopher Hill, Wolfgang Petritsch and Boris Majorski. On February 19th, one day before the closing date for finding a mutually acceptable solution, both delegations were given the draft (project proposal) of the agreement to be signed the next day, on February 20th.

The final draft submitted on February 19, had essential differences compared to "The draft of the Project Agreement for Peace and Self-Government in Kosovo", of February 6th. Instead of substantial autonomy, as interim status until final resolution that was expected to be determined after three years, the new draft envisaged this as the final solution. The Albanian delegation found that change unacceptable. The readers who may be interested in knowing more details about this issue are suggested to read the above-cited books of Rexhep Qosja, Blerim Shala, Edita Tahiri, Jakup Krasniqi and Rame Buja. These books will

[1] Jedinstvo, "Osuđeni teroristi" (Terrorists condemned), 19.02.1999

enable the reader to become more familiar with the dynamics aroused by this draft within the Albanian delegation.

On the other hand, to the Serbian-Yugoslav delegation, the model of autonomy for Kosovo[1] and the military presence that would monitor the implementation of this agreement were unacceptable.

The Serbian Government came up with a unique approach that Kosovo's autonomy can only be accomplished within the Republic of Serbia and they ruled out the possibility of a foreign military presence in Kosovo. According to them, the Prishtina Corpse of Yugoslav Army guaranteed peace in Kosovo[2]. Statements that excluded any form of autonomy for Kosovo, outside the legal framework of Serbia, became increasingly frequent, "We won't give Kosovo, even if you bomb us."[3] Milosevic said in a meeting with Cypriot members of parliament. At the same time an all-round political and media mobilization was organized against NATO in all the cities in Serbia. "We will defend our homeland!", "We will defend Kosovo at any price!", "We will defend ourselves against any aggressor!" are only few of the many slogans around which the Serbian people gathered![4]

In a situation like this, where the risk of failure of the conference was obvious, the Foreign Ministers of France and Great Britain, Hubert Védrine and Robin Cook, made a public appeal for compromise!p"You can choose to end the conflict and integrate Yugoslavia into the family of modern European countries. But, you can also sink in internal wars and isolation, which has been exceptionally typical for the modern history of your nations. The people of FRY should recognize Kosovo the right to a higher degree of self-governance, whereas Kosovo Albanians should let go of their requirement for independence, and recognize the rights of

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[1] Although the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia was not violated

[2] Politika, "Protiv stranitrupe", "Vlada složna-NATO neće doći", "Alijansa ne dolazi u obzir", "Ključna tema NATO trupe" 19.02,1999

[3] "Ne damo Kosmet ni po cenu bombardovajna" (We won't give Kosovo, even if you bomb us), "jedinstvo" 20-21 February 1999; Same titles appear in the articles of "Politika" dates 20-21 February, 1999 and in "Ekspres" 20 February 1999.

[4] Politika, "Jugoslavia će čvrsto braniti suverenitet", "Miting mira za Kosovo", 20-21 February, 1999

other ethnic groups in Kosovo. Explicitly, both parties must accept the international military presence that would guarantee the implementation of the agreement."[1] These were the messages of Hubert Védrine and Robin Cook.

The impasse of negotiations put the diplomats of the Contact Group for Kosovo in a very difficult situation. In this context, the American Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright, on February 20, 1999 from the Rambouillet castle addressed the negotiating parties with a very clear threatening language, "Take things seriously!", Madeleine Albright warned. "This time we cannot allow anyone to pretend! If the Serbian side says "NO!" and the talks fail because of them then we'll have bombing! If the Albanians don't say "YES!" and the talks fail because of them we will not defend them and consequently we will not bomb Serbia!"[2]

Since February 19th the engagement to avoid failure of the conference was much more intensive and comprehensive.

The team representing Kosovo Albanians had the decision making power in these talks, whereas the Serbian team did not have such authority. That's why, the talks with the Kosovo team were held in Rambouillet, and to break the deadlock, the US Ambassador Christopher Hill, had to travel to Belgrade!pOnce again Milosevic showed his well-known arrogance to the western diplomacies while refusing to accept. Instead of meeting the American Ambassador and express his views, Milosevic preferred to use the media in declaring that, "we will never abandon Kosovo, even if we get bombed"[3].

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[1] Despic-popovic Helene: "Kosovo: un accord sans signataires. Ni Albanais ni Serbes ne semblent disposés à s'entendre à la veille de l'échéance.", 19.02.1999 http://www.liberation.fr/monde/1999/02/19/kosovo-un-accord-sans-signataires-ni-albanais-ni-serbes-ne-semblent-disposes-a-s-entendre-a-la-veill_265414

[2] INA.FR, "Rappel négociations/Rambouillet", le20.02.1999, see: http://www.ina.fr/video/CAB99008831

[3] Libération, Didier François, "Les pourparlers de Rambouillet arrivent à leur date-butoir. L'heure de vérité pour le Kosovo. Faute d'un accord de paix entre Serbes et Kosovars avant samedi midi, l'Otan pourrait lancer ses frappes aériennes" http://www.liberation.fr/evenement/1999/02/20/les-pourparlers-de-rambouillet-arrivent-a-leur-date-butoir-l-heure-de-verite-pour-le-kosovo-faute-d-_265478 and Politika, "Nedamo Kosovo po cenu bombardovanja", 20-21 February 1999

It is important to emphasize that in addition to the refusal positions of Milosevic's regime towards the demands of western diplomats, the Serbian press gave a great publicity to the attitudes coming from Russian state institutions. The Serbian media headlines emphasized that during an alleged phone conversation, the President of the Russian Federation, Boris Yeltsin, had warned the US President, Bill Clinton to, "keep (his) hands off Kosovo!", that "threats against Serbia shall not pass", and that "Yeltsin will not allow Kosovo to be touched by anyone."[1], and so on.

Despite the fact that the White House denied[2] this information, and announced that president Clinton had not had any phone conversations with Boris Yeltsin in a very long time, the Serbian media kept it in the headlines!

Serbian newspapers were dominated by the news that during a meeting with Milosevic, the deputy head of the Russian Dumas, Sergey Baburin had declared that, "the Russian Duma supports Serbia and Yugoslavia"[3], that "the Russian prime minister, Yevgeny Primakov, had described the use of force as absolutely unacceptable"[4], that "the Russian general Leonid Ivashov warned Americans and NATO to abandon the idea of bombing and that the attacks on Yugoslavia would give Russia a moral

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[1] "Nećemo dozvoliti da dirnu Kosovo", (We won't allow them to put a finger on Kosovo), Moskva, 18/02/ (Tanjug), "Jedinstvo" 19/02/1999; "Podrška Dume Srbiji i SRJ", (Duma supports Serbia and FRY) EKSPRES 19/02/1999; Nećemo dozvoliti da pipnu Kosovo (We won't allow them to put a finger on Kosovo), Moskva, "Ekspres-Politika" 19/02/1999; "Podrška Ruske Dume Srbiji i SR Jugoslaviji" (Duma supports Serbia and FRY),"Politika" 19/02/1999; "Jelcin protiv vojne pretnje NATO-a Jugoslaviji" (Jelcin against NATO threats on Yugoslavia), Moskva,18/02, "Politika", 19/02/1999; "Dalje prste od Kosmeta" (Keep your hands off Kosovo) NOVOSTI, 19.02.1999; "Ne damo da dirate Kosovo", (We won't let you touch Kosovo), Moskva, Politika, 19.02.1999; "Klintone, ne diraj u Kosovo!", (Clinton, don't touch Kosovo!) "POLITIKA" 19.02.1999, Moskva(Beta-Roiters); "Rusija ima pravo da pomogne SRJ" (Russia reserves the right to help Yugoslavia), "Politika", 21.02.1999; "Primena sile apsolutno neprihvatljiva" (Use of violence, absolutely unacceptable) "Jedinstvo" 24.02.1999; "Američke trupe nemaju šta da traže na Kosovu" (American Troops have no reason to be in Kosovo), "Politika" 24.02.1999; "Rusija preti prekidom odnosa s NATO" (Russia threatens to break the relations with NATO), "Ekspres-Politika" 24.02.1999; "Bio bi to Vijetnam usred Evrope" (It would be a Vietnam in the middle of Europe), "Politika", 24.02.1999;

[2] Politika, "Nisu razgovarali u poslednje vreme", 19 February 1999.

[3] Politika, "Podrška Ruske Dume Srbiji i SR Jugoslaviji", 19.02.1999

[4] Jedinstvo, "Primena sile 'apsolutno neprihvatljiva' ", (Use of violence, absolutely unacceptable), 24.02.1999

right to offer FRY military and technical assistance"[1], that "the Russia Minister of Defense, Marshall Igor Sergeyev, had noted that the air strikes on Yugoslavia might bring a "New Vietnam" in Europe, and that Moscow would suspend the cooperation with NATO and help the victim in terms of offering military assistance"[2], that "without the consent of the Security Council of the United Nations there would be no military intervention"[3] and many more similar articles.

Besides the intensity of the Serbian diplomatic activities to blame "the Albanian terrorists" for the eventual failure of the Conference, on the ground in Kosovo, Albanian civilians were being killed every day and KLA was being blamed for it.

On February 21, a famous Albanian activist Gafurr Loku was executed in front of his house in the village Paldenica, municipality of Hani Elezit, together with his son, Driton (20). Since 1971, when he was a student of Prishtina University, until the day of his murder in 1999, Gafurr Loku has been continuously persecuted by the consecutive Yugoslav regimes. On January 21, 1973 the Skopje District Court sentenced him to five years imprisonment[4] for his activities for advancing the rights of the Albanians, whereas on August 16, 1982, the same court sentenced him to 3,5 years.

In addition to these criminal acts, the Milosevic regime provoked in the worst possible way by adding these martyrs on the list of civilians killed by the KLA![5] The strategy of executing civilians which was applied by the Serbian Secret Services and their attempts to blame KLA for these crimes will be discussed on the last chapter of my book. Now I shall return to the developments around the Conference of Rambouillet.

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[1] Politika, "Rusija ima pravo da pomogne SRJ" (Russia reserves the right to help FRY), 24 February 1999

[2] Politika, "Bio bi to Vijetnam usred Evrope", (It would be a Vietnam in the middle of Europe, 24 February 1999

[3] Politika, "Šešelj: SRS protiv billo čijih trupa na Kosovu", 19 February 1999

[4] Rafi Halili, Rushit Nesimi, Elmaz Ajeti, Ajet Ademi and Nasuf Dauti were sentenced in the same process

[5] Terrorist acts of Albanian terrorist groups in Kosovo and Metohija : documents and evidence 1 January 1998 - 10 June 1999, III, Part One & Part Two p. 1023, Beograd, March 2000, p. 918

Latest development in this conference imposed its continuation for several days. On February 23, 1999 the Kosovo delegation, through a letter, notified the international mediators that it accepts the interim peace agreement.[6] On the other hand, the Serbian delegation was categorically against signing the agreement, hence they asked more time in order to consult Belgrade about it. In this situation, it was decided the conference to suspend its activities for 2-3 weeks, to resume in Paris on March 15, 1999.

During the two weeks, following the recess of the Conference of Rambouillet, western diplomacy was very active in preparing all necessary conditions for the success of the Peace Conference for Kosovo. In Belgrade however, there was an increasingly negative attitude. Aside from the rigidity of the political positions, the violence against Albanians would not stop. Thus, on March 3rd, several Albanian civilians were found killed, Qerim Rexha and Iliri Dini from Rahovec, while in Ruda Vogel of Zvecani municipality[7] two additional Albanians were found dead, Nexhat Azemi and Reshat Sejdiu.[8]

On March 3rd the District Court of Mitrovica sentenced the following "terrorist activists"; Agron Prokshi to 6 months, Raif Mustafa and Ismat Saraci to 10 months, Sabedin Imeri to 15 months, Sedat Hasani to 1.5 years, Agron Ademi to 1 year and 8 months, Basri Reci, Bedri Bajrami, Nexhmi Sallahu, Faruk Reci and Rifat Shaqiri to 1 year and 8 months, Esat Shaqiri to 2 years, whereas Safet Ferizi, aged 20, was sentenced to 12 years in prison.[9]

The killings and the punishments on Albanians were an indicator that the Milosevic regime was no ready to give up on the political goals for Kosovo. Regarding the position on the efforts to find a political solution for Kosovo, in a meeting[10] with the American Ambassador

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[6] Rexhep Qosja, Paqja e Përgjakshme, Toena, Tiranë, 1999, p.333-339
[7] A municipality with Serbian majority
[8] Ekspres, "Još dve žrtve terorista", 4 March 1999
[9] Jedinsvo, "Zatvorske kazne teroristima", 4 March 1999
[10] Beograd, 9 March 1999

Richard Holbrooke who was the Special Envoy for the Balkans, Milosevic categorically rejected for the last time the proposed agreement mentioned above.[1]

The day after the announcement of the negative approach of the Belgrade authority on the project proposed by the Contact Group, on March 10, 1999 the Serbian and the Belarus Forensic teams issued a media statement communicating the preliminary results of their work. According to this statement broadcasted on Serbian Radio B92, the 13:00 hrs program dated March 10th[2] the results of the autopsy and the "paraffin gloves" revealed that, "In the Recak Case, 37 out of 40 examined corpses resulted to have raw gunpowder remnants on their hands. This proves that they had used firearms, therefore they were KLA soldiers, not civilians";

"It was noted that 39 out of 40 corpses were not shot from a close range, and only one of the corpses had two bullets on the body, shot from a relatively remote distance, but not a close one";

"Out of 40 casualties, there was one woman and one child of 10 – 15 years old, who was killed from 500 meters away least, which shows that there was no execution, but they were killed during combat";

"The casualties had not been mutilated or decapitated, which means that there was no massacre."[3]

Serbian and Belarus Forensic experts used these results to reject the arguments that a massacre had occurred in Recak. So, these 'experts', through their 'scientific' work revealed that, "the massacre of the Albanians civilians was a lie!" So, even the International Conference for Kosovo was invited based on 'lies'! But, the head of the Finnish Forensic team, Helena Ranta, presented the report of the team employed by the European Union, to the investigative judge Danica Marinkovic and the

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[1] Ivo H. Daalder et Michael E. O'Hanlon, *op. cit*, p. 83-84

[2] Jürgen Elsässer, *La RFA dans la guerre au Kosovo, Chronique d'une manipulation*, Harmattan, 2002, p.63-64

[3] SERB INVESTIGATORS: RACAK NOT A MASSACRE, B92 vesti, 031099/1 [English] 13:00 CET: source: http://moumee.calstatela.edu/~sii/odrazb/n_990301/0309991e.htm

head of the Serbian Forensic team, Slavisa Dobricanin. At the same time, she announced a press conference at the OSCE Headquarters in Prishtina on March 17, 1999.

During the two days preceding this conference, the Serb media disseminated information that allegedly the Finnish Forensic experts had concluded that, "no massacre had occurred in Recak!"[1] The newspapers repeated the positions already announced by the Serbian and Belarus experts that, "the casualties of Recak were armed and had fired before being killed. 37 out of 40 had gunpowder trails."[2]

Being engaged by the European Union to put together a professional expertise on this case, Helena Ranta was only bound to the findings of the Finnish research. During the conference, according to this pathologist, it was announced that the results of their work so far showed that, in the case of the 40 bodies that underwent an autopsy and for which numerous facts were collected, "the victims were nothing else but unarmed villagers, who had been shot while wearing the clothes they were in."[3]

These findings by Helena Ranta turned down the Serbian claims that the casualties were allegedly KLA soldiers, whose clothes were changed from military uniforms to civilian. The refutation by the EU engaged expert infuriated Belgrade and the Serbian Forensic team. A day after Helena Ranta's conference, on March 18, the Serbian Minister of Justice, Dragoljub Jankovic, and the members of the Serbian Forensic team, Slavisa Dobricanin, Vujadin Otasevic and Dusan Dunjic called a press conference where in an explicit way they emphasized that Helena Ranta was a dental pathologist, and she was not an expert and lacked the competence to speak about what had happened in Recak."[4]

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[1] Politika, "Finnish pathologists in the name of EU: there was no massacre in Reçak!", 16.03.1999

[2] Ibid.

[3] The same was repeated during the judicial Trial against Milosevic, on 12 March 2003, p. 760
Trial against Milosevic, testimony of Helena Ranta, 12 March 2003, p. 760

[4] Ekspres-Politika, "Nečista posla Helene Rante"; Novosti, "Iza Rante politika"; Politika, "Izveštaj Rante ravan nuli" 19.03.1999

Aside from the public accusations regarding Helena Ranta's "lack of professional competence", the Minister of Justice in the Milosevic's regime, as well as the Serbian forensic experts, qualified the findings of the head of the Finnish team as, "politically influenced positions!"[1]

Although the main news had to do with the intensive activities for the start of the second round of talks in the International Conference for Kosovo, the differences regarding the preliminary results of the Serbian and Finnish forensic team for the 40 casualties got a huge coverage in the Serbian media.[2]

Before continuing the talks, on March 13, there was a bomb explosion in a Mitrovica market, mainly attended by Albanians. Three Albanians got killed: Sevdije Selimi, Valdete Stana and Elizabeta Hashani (5 years old), and 48 others were injured[3]. On March 15, when the media announced that the Albanian delegation had traveled to Paris to sign the agreement proposed by the Contact Group, two Albanians were found dead in Istog, Rrahman Morina and Shaban Ramxhaj[4]. Also, four members of the Tafa family (Xhemail, Ismail, Rizah and Ibrahim) from Suhareka's village Grejkovc were killed in the forest of the village, where they had gone to cut fire wood. Similar to the first round of talks in Rambouillet, in the wake of the second round, all the courts that were under full control of the political regime of Milosevic tried to show their efficiency. The Prizren District Court sentenced 5 Albanians under terrorism charges. Vehbi Muhadri got sentenced to 8 years, Isak Hoti and Sokol Morina were sentenced to 5 years each, whereas Nysret Hoti was sent to prison for the next 4 years[5].

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1 Ibid.

2 Serbian media articles which are denigrating towards the report of Helena Ranta: "Izveštaj Rante ravan nuli" (Report of Ranta is equal to zero), "Blic" Hronika, 19 March 1999; "Zašto Finci nisu koristili pouzdaniju metodu folije" (Why didn't the Finnish use the a modern foil method?), "Politika", 19 March 1999; "Patolozi u senci politike" (Pathologists on political shades), "Politika", 19 March 1999; 'Parafinska rukavica' jeste dokaz" (Paraffin glove is an evidence), "Ekspres", 19 March 1999; "Nečista posla Helene Rante" (Helena Ranta's dirty job, "Ekspres", 19 March1999; "Iza Rante politika" (Ranta is backed by politics), "Novosti", 19 March 1999; "Sumnjiv izveštaj" (Suspicious Report) "Novosti" 19 March 1999

3 Politika 19 March

4 Jedinstvo, 16 March 1999

5 Politika, "Osuđeno petoro terorista", 19 March 1999

On March 14, 1999 the Albanian delegation arrived in Paris. Despite Milosevic's rejection of the agreement, the Serbian-Yugoslav team also went to France. This time, the Serbian delegation was led and accompanied by the President of the Serbian Government, Milan Milutinovic. The following day, in the meeting with Hubert Védrine and Robin Cook, the head of delegation of Kosovo, Hashim Thaci[1], announced the international mediator that, "after consulting and considering the opinion of the majority of the people although our 'Yes' will not fully satisfy the people of Kosovo, we have decided to accept the agreement. We think that this way we contribute to the peace in the region."[2] On the same day the Kosovo delegation signed the agreement held a press conference[3], where the international public opinion was notified about the achieved decision.

No matter how positive the signing of the agreement by Kosovo representatives, on March 15, 1999 was the Serbian delegation refused the political aspect and the military presence to supervise the implementation of the agreement.[4] The refusal by the Serbian delegation put the conference in a very difficult situation.

Trying to buy time, the Serbian delegation pretended not to have seen the draft of the agreement that needed to be signed. Moreover, such a mocking attitude by the Serbians forced the Russian mediator Boris Mayorski, to declare publicly that the, "Serbian delegation has had this document since February."[5] While, the head of Russian diplomacy, Ivanov asked from the Serbs "to sign the document!"[6]

Instead of signing the agreement, they submitted a new document about Kosovo's autonomy within Serbia and showed readiness to sign this document they had compiled themselves! Furthermore, the Serbian

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[1] Also head of the Political Directorate of KLA
[2] Rexhep Qosja, Paqja e Përgjakshme, Toena, Tiranë, 1999, p.376-377
[3] Ibid., 378-379
[4] Yves Tomic, *L'état du monde 2000*, La Découverte, Paris, 1999, see: http://www.afebalk.org/edm/articles.php3?id_article=167
[5] Politika, "Mayorski: Srbi su dobili dokument u feburara", 19 March 1999
[6] Ibid.

delegation insisted that the implementation of this document was a job for the, "Yugoslav Army Corps in Prishtina, which represent a protector of peace in Kosovo."[1] Such proposals were obvious mockery of all international commitments to find a solution during this conference. In parallel with these attitudes of the political authorities, the judicial institutions continued with the old logic. On March 19, the Prokuplje District Court[2] sentenced 15 Albanian workers, who were arrested on June 19, 1998 while returning by bus from Slovenia. During the body search of these Albanians who were working in this country, now independent from Yugoslavia, some 96,155 German Marks 'were found'. Apart from robbing their savings, the detainees were accused of allegedly having in mind to donate the money to the 'terrorists' in Malisheva region! Based on these charges, the court sentenced Ramadan Avdiu, Ali Gashi, Qazi Krasniqi, Imer Krasniqi, Azem Krasniqi, Burim Bllaca, Naim Balaj, Nuhi Bokaj, Enver Zogaj, Halid Nareçaj and Hajrulla Samaraxha to three and a half years imprisonment, while Feriz Zabelaj, Rrahim Aliu, Xhavit Kacaniku and Sinan Bytyqi to four years imprisonment.

Despite the extremely negative messages and acts accompanied by the old persistent position of Serbian mentality, the diplomacy of the Contact Group countries continued with even greater intensity. From March 15 until March 22 the efforts to make this conference a story of success did not stop. On March 22nd the last efforts of Ambassador Richard Holbrooke failed. He failed to convince Slobodan Milosevic to accept the agreement already signed by the Albanian delegation. The following day, on March 23, 1999 the Secretary General of NATO, Javier Solana declared that, "he had ordered General Wesley Clark to begin the air operations against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia."[3]

Although it was clear that the order for air strikes was issued, the Serbian media constantly repeated Milosevic's statement, "We won't give

[1] "Our delegation gives remarks and written proposals", Politika 16 March 1999
[2] City in Serbia
[3] Conseil de l'Europe, Denis Huber, *Le Conseil de l'Europe (1989-1999):une décénie pour l'histoire* https://wcd.coe.int/ViewDoc.jsp?id=123029

up on Kosovo, even at the price of a bombing"!" His statement, made in a meeting with the Cypriot MP's as mentioned above, had become a mobilizing slogan all over Serbia. In the following, I will try to explain whether these mobilizations intended to convince NATO member states about the readiness of Serbia to fight in order to keep Kosovo under its control, or perhaps the rejection of political agreement and the continuation of the violence in Kosovo by the Belgrade regime intended to provoke air strikes. But, before we go any deeper into this aspect, I believe we should halt and go into details about what happened on January 15, 1999 in Recak.

The Forensic Results and the Hippocratic Oath

To shed light on the events in this village in Kosovo, it is necessary to discuss the results of both the Serbian and the international Forensic teams who investigated the Recak Massacre. Significant differences between the reports of the two teams left the actuality unclear, but those same differences lead us to clear conclusions, and not just about the Recak Massacre. They expose the mechanisms of the regime that attempted to hide evidence of the crime. So, let us allow the experts to show us what is actually revealed by their work.

In a documentary interview about Recak broadcast on Serbian State Television, the head of the Serbian Forensic Team, Slavisa Dobricanin, declared that "the Finnish team got involved in the operations of determining the cause of the killing of 40 people in Recak, on 22 January 1999, three days after the Serbian team began their operations. They arrived too late,"[1] he concluded. To avoid wasting precious time, by January 22 the Serbian team had conducted the autopsy on 16 corpses, had completed the paraffin glove tests, and fingerprinted the dead.[2] The rush to do all this, according to Dobricanin, was because they felt

[1] Cited Documentary of RTS, "Kosovo : Raèak Laži i istine"
[2] Ibid.

their results would be compromised. “Any delay might have had huge consequences, especially in terms of determining the cause of death or other eventual injuries that were found in the bodies.”[1]

After the arrival of the Finnish team, the autopsies of the other 24 bodies were conducted by mixed teams, “Then we returned to the 16 bodies we had already examined before, and demonstrated on the bodies before the Finnish experts. We carried out an external examination, a comparison of the inflow and outflow wounds, anything necessary to have a clear image of the Forensic findings.”[2]

According to the assertions of Slavisa Dobricanin, “the Finnish medics were extremely satisfied. They did not have any complaints regarding the examination we had carried out on the 16 bodies. At the end, the conclusions were written, separately for each case and compiled into one report. We offered to let the Finnish doctors sign all the conclusions of the autopsy. At first, they agreed. But later, after consulting Helena Ranta, she explained that they were not allowed to sign, because they had to carry on with their operations.”[3] Even Helena Ranta claimed that, “during the professional examinations in the autopsy halls the work progressed without any problems from any of the experts.”[4] The differences between the two teams began when someone went out of their professional field to interpret results according to principles and criteria that have nothing to do with Forensics. At this juncture, we must recall that at the press conference organized by the Serbian Minister of Justice, Dragoljub Jankovic and the members of the Serbian Forensic Team, doubts were raised regarding Helena Ranta’s professional credentials.

Helena Ranta’s professional competence was again denigrated by the members of the Serbian Forensic team in newspaper articles and TV

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1 Ibid.
2 Ibid.
3 Doumentary of TVB “Kosovo : Račak Laži i istine”
4 Trial against Milosevic, testimony of Helena Ranta, 12 March 2003, p.763-764, http://www.hlc-rdc.org/Transkripti/Milosevic/_Milosevic.html

shows dedicated to this event.[1] Moreover, in the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, in the trial against Milosevic,[2] Dr. Slavisa Dobricanin reaffirmed this position. Invited by Milosevic as an expert who was supposed to testify that, "no civilians were killed in Recak," Dobricanin tried to convince the panel that Helena Ranta was unqualified.

> *Helena Ranta was indeed a dentist who specialized in forensic dentistry, while all the other members of the Finnish team were Forensic experts and were considered to be top pathologists in the world. There was no reason that could justify Helena Ranta's position as the head of such a team consisting of top world forensic specialists. But, this was probably a result of politics and agreements.*[3]

To avoid influencing public opinion, the European Union's expert, Helena Ranta, remained silent for a period of almost two years and did not publish anything about the final results of the investigation of the Finnish team. This silence gave way to different speculations about her and about the results of the forensic team's research. She remained silent even when her statement that she had landed in Kosovo without any prejudices, and without ruling out any hypotheses was questioned. At the beginning of the investigation, she did not even exclude the hypothesis that the case might have been staged.[4] The statement that she would not describe the event with language apart from forensic terminology[5] was distorted to such an extent that it was described as political pressure against her.

However, on 10 March in 2001, Helena Ranta broke her silence. In the article *The Recak Massacre was Indeed a Massacre'* the NRC Handelsblad editor, Petra de Koning, presented an interview with Helena Ranta,[6] among others.

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[1] Articles denigrating Helena Ranta have been mentioned above.
[2] Invited as a witness for the defense of Slobodan Milosevic
[3] Trial against Milosevic, testimony of Slavisa Dobricanin, 8 April 2005, p. 506-507 and p.514.
[4] Trial against Milosevic, testimony of Helena Ranta, 12 March 2003, p.763-764. Ibid., p. 733-735 http://www.hlc-rdc.org/Transkripti/Milosevic/_Milosevic.html
[5] Cited documentary of RTS, "Kosovo : Račak Laži i istine"
[6] Petra De Koning,"Le Massacre de Reçak en était bien un" https://docs.google.com/document/

In this interview Helena Ranta explained the enormous amount of work that was done to shed light on this crime. “Through the autopsy of the bodies, with the shells that were found at the crime scene, with the investigations at the creek where each centimeter of the land was shoveled, checked through with spoons and metal detectors, ‘The Recak Case’ is the most examined case in the history of the Hague Tribunal.”[1]

According to the research, “the dead wore seven or eight layers of civilian clothes due to the cold winter weather.

The autopsy revealed that they had been shot while wearing these clothes. During the investigations, bullets were discovered below the surface of the earth in the gully where the bodies were found. Near one of the bullets, a body part was found. The results of the autopsy conducted at Prishtina Hospital corresponded to those that were found at the gully. Helena Ranta, head of the Finnish forensic team, concluded that there had been a massacre at Recak.

> *The man whose body part was found was lying on the ground when he was shot. The other victims were in similar positions.. The possibility that the 23 men found dead at the creek had been killed elsewhere was categorically ruled out. They were not moved here after being killed, and there was no staging. The Albanian civilians were shot at close range, and it is not significant to discuss whether the shooting distance was one or two meters away. Either way, they had not been killed in battle,”*[2]

The same views were reiterated during the testimony against Slobodan Milosevic in The Hague.

For fairly long time the Serbian forensic team stuck to the positions that were contrived by the Belgrade politicians and publicly disseminated by Serbian State Radio Television reporters, Milovan Drecun and Tomislav Magoci. However, on the fifth anniversary of the Recak Massacre, those who had not followed the judicial process

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

against Slobodan Milosevic in the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, had an opportunity to were to discover a piece of the truth related to the killings of the villagers in Recak. In a press conference of January 26, 2004, for the first time a Serbian pathologist (Dr. Vujadin Otasevic) refused to deny that the bodies of the Albanian civilians in Recak had been massacred. Furthermore, he explained that "signs of animal teeth had been found in their bodies and that they had been massacred by dogs."[1]

In the previous section the testimony of the OSCE observer published in Pierre Hazan's article was quoted. The observer said that he could not tell if, "the bodies were mutilated or if the animals had eaten their flesh."2 The animal hypothesis, which could be as an ironic reference to the savagery displayed on the January 15, 1999 in Recak, was initially presented by Dr. Vujadin Otasevic in 2004 and then later by Slavisa Dobricanin in 2005 as "the truth discovered by the Serb pathologists." What made this conference a such a big news story centered on Vujadin Otasevic's claims that, "the fabricated stories of Belgrade that the terrorists had been changed in civilian clothes after they were killed were completely confusing."3 He continued, "I don't know who came up with such nonsense, but I know that we all have been terribly disgusted by such claims."4 Dr. Otasevi concluded that "The bullet holes in the clothes matched perfectly the bullet wounds in the bodies. Therefore, this fact was used by Walker to offer the foreign journalists the version of a massacre."[5]

Although Dr. Vujadin Otasevic described as nonsense, "the lie fabricated in Belgrade about changing the terrorists from uniforms to

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[1] Glas Javnosti, "Tela masakrirali psi!" (Bodies massacred by dogs) in: http://www.mail-archive.com/sim@antic.org/msg15483.html

[2] Libération, Pierre Hazan, cited article, "Massacre de Racak..."

[3] Večerne Novosti, "Laž u službi 'tomahavka'" http://www.novosti.rs/vesti/naslovna/aktuelno.69.html:154641-SLU268AJ-RA268AK-PET-GODINA-POSLE-INSCENIRANOG-MASAKRA--Laz-u-sluzbi-tomahavka---4

[4] Večerne Novosti, cited article, "Laž u službi 'tomahavka'"

[5] Ibid.

civilian clothes," this pathologist also "supports the position that all casualties had been killed from a remote distance!"[1]

It is worth mentioning that two years before Dr. Vujadin Otasevic declared the Recak Massacre to be "a nonsense." William Walker in a hearing of June 12, 2002 during the trial of Milosevic, declared the claim that the Recak Massacre was staged was absurd.

> *Based on the positions in which the bodies were lying, the way they were dressed, based on the bullet holes and the blood around, relying on the fact that all this happened in mid-winter, claiming that the corpses were stripped off their uniforms and dressed in civilian clothes, or anything similar to this, is nothing else but an insane statement.[2] From what my associates and I have seen that day, we have concluded that there was no staging. That was the very site where 40 civilians had been killed."[3]*

Throughout his trial, Milosevic stubbornly insisted that there had never been a massacre in Recak. He made the same argument that appeared in the Belgrade-controlled media. Milosevic likely stuck to his story hoping that media message coming out of Serbia would persuade the tribunal in The Hague. During his trial, Milosevic questioned Dobricanin about the "changing of the clothes" of those killed in Recak and demanded to know "if the wounds in the corpses matched the bullet holes in the clothes." Dobricanin confirmed with a simple, "Yes!"[4]

Dissatisfied with that answer, Milosevic demanded to know whether there was compliance in all cases. "In all cases,"[5] Dobricanin answered. Dobricanin's statement that the casualties had been killed wearing civilian clothes supported the position of the Finnish pathologists, published by Helena Ranta in the conference of March 17, 1999 and which was reaffirmed in her testimony of March 12, 2003 during the trial.

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1 Ibid.

2 Trial against Milosevic, testimony of William Walker-i, 12 June, p. 563 http://www.hlc-rdc.org/Transkripti/Milosevic/_Milosevic.html

3 Ibid. p.644-645

4 Trial against Milosevic, testimony of Slavisa *Dobricanin, cited session of 8 April 2005, p. 533* http://www.hlc-rdc.org/Transkripti/Milosevic/_Milosevic.html

5 Ibid., p.533

The invalidation of the story that the corpses in Recak had had their clothes changed confirmed by the head of the Serbian team of pathologists in the judicial process, began to dismantle the tower of lies fabricated by Belgrade. However, in order to mitigate the damage done to Milosevic's case by his earlier remarks, Slavisa Dobricanin emphasized that, "the corpses had dark clothes, distinctive for the KLA soldiers, KLA Military Police or maybe the village guardsmen."[1]

A careful reading of Dobricanin's statement shows the way he moved outside of his field of expertise, evolving from a forensic expert to an expert on battle dress military uniforms right before the eyes of the tribunal.[2] This same professor of Forensic Medicine who held forth on the color of the uniforms of KLA soldiers had also questioned Helen Ranta's qualifications and insisted that she spoke outside her area of expertise. He was frequently quoted during the trial as saying that it was not within Ranta's purview to say that the bodies belong to "unarmed villagers." When it comes to others, if their positions don't match the propaganda of Belgrade regime, Slavisa Dobricanin insisted that, "It's not up to the Forensic experts to talk about the origins of the people and the events that have occurred where the bodies were found."[3] So what was up to the experts? Dobricanin explained:

> *The task of Forensic experts is to determine the cause and the methods of murders, other eventual injuries, pathological changes and the facts related to identification. Meantime, judging on the motives and the reasons of the killings, their political implications or the moral aspects, the ties of the victims with political or other organizations are in no way related to the field of Forensic Medicine.*[4]

Apparently these restrictions do not apply to him. Dobricanin did not hesitate to discuss the "ties the victims had with the terrorist KLA,"

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[1] Ibid., 532-533
[2] Army Quartermaster.
[3] Trial against Milosevic, testimony of of Slavisa Dobricanin, 12 April 2005, p.613 http://www.hlc-rdc.org/Transkripti/Milosevic/_Milosevic.html
[4] Ibid., p.613

or their attire, the color of their clothes, their roles and duties as "Village Guardsmen." These are precisely the kind of statements he supposedly deplored. pWhen he was rebuked for doing what he criticized Helena Ranta for,[1] Dobricanin tried to justify that in the "Recak Case" he had two roles: a member of the investigative team of investigative judge Danica Marinkovic and the role of Forensic Medicine expert. He insisted in this dual role and asked for an understanding that his comments about the "village guardsmen" and the "color of the clothes" were things he has noticed as a member of the "investigative unit," whereas whatever he says about the corpses is as, "a professor and a specialist of Forensic Medicine!"[2]

Dobricanin went on to discuss the bodies of the murdered Albanians. After the argument which demonstrated that Halim Beqiri[3] (14 years old) was shot in the back, the judge asked Dobricanin to give his professional opinion as a Forensic Medicine expert, on whether this 14 year old boy could have been a civilian. In this case Slavisa Dobricanin was unable to respond, either as an investigative team member, or as a professor and specialist of forensic medicine. In this case he referred to his life experience and vouchsafed his opinion that Halim Beqiri appeared to be a boy, but that "14 year-old Albanians were mature youngsters. Many of them carry weapons and the age doesn't mean anything to Albanians."[4]

This attempt to cover up the murder of a 14 year-old boy with arguments like, "age doesn't mean anything to Albanians," is simply monstrous. Moreover, when such an attempt comes from a doctor it is easy to judge the "expertise" of this conclusion.

In spite of Dobricanin's attempts to repair the damage, the testimony that the Albanians were killed in civilian clothes was a blow to Milosevic and those who had invited Dr. Slavisa Dobricanin to be a witness for

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1 Ibid., p.614
2 Ibid., p.616
3 Halim's father was killed the same day that his mother and sister were wounded.
4 Trial against Milosevic, testimony of of Slavisa Dobricanin, 12 April 2005, p.641-642 http://www.hlc-rdc.org/Transkripti/Milosevic/_Milosevic.html

the defense. Since Slobodan Milosevic had been hoping that the Forensic expert would confirm the version of events that was fabricated in Belgrade, he changed topic and from discussing the clothes of the casualties, he moved on to discuss about the shooting distance.

Before answering a Milosevic's question regarding the distance of from which the 40 people from Recak were shot, Dr. Dobricanin explained the terms "near and far" in forensic medicine.

> *Every murder with a firearm that goes the distance from 2-3 millimeters from the body, up to the distance of 200-250 centimeters from the body, is considered a close range murder. As per the Recak casualties, in only two cases had they found unburned gunpowder residue, which proves that they were probably killed from a distance of approximately one and a half meters, to two meters. All others were killed from a distance of two meters distance or further!*[1].

Even if a shooting distance of farther than two meters is "a murder from afar," it was not the "minimum distance of 500 meters," that Milosevic was hoping to hear In this case. At that point, Milosevic changed topics and floated the idea that, "the mutilation of the bodies was conducted by Albanian terrorists to give the impression of a massacre." Hoping to garner some evidence to support this fabrication, he asked the expert for clarification about the timing of the wounds found on the bodies: were they pre or pos-mortem?

Reporting the research from the Serbian pathologist's team, Dobricanin said that, "all wounds on their bodies were caused by firearms while they were alive. Apart from the gunshot wounds, six bodies were found injured only by animals after their death*!"*[2]

To make the hypothesis of animal wounds believable, Slavisa Dobricanin explained that this had happened because, "the dead bodies in Recak remained lying in the open for four days, or maybe also inside

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[1] Trial against Milosevic, testimony of Slaviša Dobričanin, cited session of 8 April 2005, p.540-541 http://www.hlc-rdc.org/Transkripti/Milosevic/_Milosevic.html

[2] Trial against Milosevic, testimony of Slaviša *Dobričanin, cited session of 8 April 2005, p.536* http://www.hlc-rdc.org/Transkripti/Milosevic/_Milosevic.html

the mosque,[1] and this conclusion was proved by the bone edges."[2]

After failing to receive the expected answer Milosevic was interested to know if the victims had any post mortem injuries. Dobricanin answered, "That such a thing had not happened at all!"[3] In his explanation about the severed heads, Dobricanin says, "Those have not been cut after death, but while the victims were alive. It is known that the bullets can tear the head apart due to the construction of the skull, even one single bullet from a firearm can destroy the head completely."[4]

The conclusion was that the victims had not been mutilated at all, either pre or post mortem. According to Dobricanin, They were killed during fighting and were injured afterwards by animals. This absurdity was the "truth" of the professor and the expert in forensic medicine, Slavisa Dobricanin who spoke as a team member of the investigative judge, Danica Marinkovic.

By claiming that they had been killed in combat, Dobricanin rejected the notion that the victims were executed by the Serbian police and armed forces. Moreover, Dobricanin alleged that the Serbian-Belarus pathologist team and their colleagues from the Finnish team, "Had recorded in their notes that there were no signs of execution."[5]

Since these claims included the European Union's pathologists, the panel was forced to seek more accurate information. They were especially interested in the document in which the Finnish recorded that they had not found any signs of execution. "Tell me! Where can I find that document?" judge Bonomi asked during this hearing. Embarrassed by this question Dr. Dobricanin replied, "I have seen it in their documents. I can't recall exactly where, but while reading I encountered it written somewhere that no signs of execution were found. We have agreed on this issue. Please, six years have passed. I

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[1] He says he doesn't know where have they been transferred
[2] Trial against Milosevic, testimony of of Slavisa Dobricanin, *cited session of 8 April 2005,*p. 547-548
[3] Ibid., p.548
[4] Ibid., p.548-549
[5] Ibid.,p.525

can't really recall. I've read and re-read so much, but I'm not prepared for this."[1]

If Dobricanin could not recall exactly where he had seen it written in the Finnish documents that there were no signs of execution, the judge insisted on knowing "if he could mention any names, any members of the Finnish experts, who have agreed with the conclusions of the Serbian pathologists that what happened in Recak did not resemble an execution?" Dobricanin's answer was clear and disappointing for Milosevic, "No, I can't mention any members, Finnish or ours. It's been a very long time since then."[2] But what he said he was sure of, and tried to convince the panel of, was that on January 15, 1999, in Recak, all the victims had been killed in combat. He said this in the role of an experienced member of the investigation unit, not as, a professor and specialist of forensic medicine.

So, what evidence informed those who claimed that the people killed in Recak were "KLA soldiers," "Albanian terrorists," or "killed in battle"? All of the evidence is based on the expedition on January 17, 1999 to collect the corpses from this village. As I mentioned, on the day of this expedition, the investigative judge Danica Marinkovic, the professor of Forensic Medicine, Slavisa Dobricanin,[3]and the Serbian police showed journalists "40 corpses located in the mosque of the village, 40 weapons (2 machine guns, 36 automatic rifles and two sniper rifles), ammunition, uniforms, food reserves, typewriters, and the list of 126 terrorists from their Recak Headquarters."[4] Besides this, the Serbian party argued that the paraffin glove examination and the fingerprint signs proved the identity of the victims and their involvement in combat.

By January 22, before the arrival of the Finnish pathologists, the Serbian forensic team had completed autopsies on 16 people, conducted

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[1] Ibid.,p.525

[2] Trial against Milosevic, testimony of of Slavisa Dobricanin, cited session of 12 April 2005,p.616

[3] At that time, Dobricanin says he was in the role of a member of an investigative team.

[4] A large part of what was disseminated as "the Serbian truth" about Recak is published in Milovan Drecun's Drugi kosovski boj, p. 20-26

paraffin glove tests, fingerprinted the victims, and run other tests.[1] So, what were the results of this investigation that was carried out in such haste by the Serbian team?

There was a broad consensus in the Serbian articles and news broadcasts that, "Traces of nitrate were found on 37 out of the 40 bodies that had undergone an autopsy. This unburned gunpowder residue was found on the index finger, the thumb, the palm, in all those parts where one would expect to find in people who have used firearms!"[2]

Even though nitrates may be unburned gunpowder residue, this does not mean that the traces of nitrate were necessarily from a gunpowder explosion. Even Dr. Dobricanin himself brought numerous examples such as the remnants of artificial fertilizers, tobacco, and urine, all of which could cause a positive nitrate result on the tests. However, in his testimony, the Head of the Serbian team privileged the hypothesis that the nitrate residue on the hands of the murdered Albanians was from firearm gunpowder.

On the other hand, the EDX electronic microscope test conducted by the Finnish Forensic team gave negative results in all cases. Thus, all the claims of the Serbian Forensic team were dropped.[3] The conclusion of the Finnish team was that none of the 40 victims of Recak had used firearms.

So, what is the truth? Slavisa Dobricanin was asked to clarify the diametrically opposed results of the two forensic teams (the Serbian and the Finnish). Specifically, the panel wanted to know if the Finnish pathologists were given the results of the paraffin gloves tests by the Serbian team. Did the Finnish see the Serbs' results before coming up with their own? After some hesitation expressed through, "I'm not sure", "I don't know" and so on, Dr. Dobricanin finally replied, "The Finnish team did not receive these results."[4]

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[1] Ibid.
[2] Trial against Milosevic, testimony of of Slavisa Dobricanin, cited session of 8 April 2005, p.560
[3] Trial against Milosevic, testimony of Helena Ranta, cited session of 12 March 2003, p.741-742
[4] Trial against Milosevic, testimony of of Slavisa Dobricanin, cited session of 12 April 2005,p.620

The failure of the Serbian team to share information with the EU forensic scientists was seen as suspicious by many. Not only did the Serbian team fail to share their results with the EU team, even more suspect was that the results of this test had not been attached to the autopsy report at all. Why were these results not attached to the report? Where, in fact were these test results? Had they been published anywhere?

The Serbian team failed to make the fact that they found traces of nitrate on 37 out of 40 corpses public. These results were also missing from the final autopsy report. During the hearing of April 13th, 2005 Slavisa Dobricanin blamed this egregious breach of forensic procedure on the work overload confronted by the forensics team because according to him, they had an extremely difficult situation during that month.[1] Aside from overloaded personnel, Dobricanin presented yet another excuse, claiming that these results were prepared in detailed notes, with videos and photos to be given to everyone, but they were completely destroyed during the total demolition of the Internal Affairs Sector building.[2] "There's no other reason!"[3] The head of the Serbian forensic team tried to sound convincing.

To be even more convincing, this pathologist disclosed additional information about "destruction of evidence." According to him, the Finnish team had taken more than 3,000 photos and had filmed more than 10 hours of video footage, whereas the technicians of the Serbian team of criminology had taken 18,000 photos and hundreds of video-films. However, unfortunately part of the photos and video-films along with the Finnish report of pathologists that were in the possession of Mrs. Marinkovic,[4] disappeared forever because of the bombing of the provincial IAS building carried out by NATO in 1999.[5]

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[1] Trial against Milosevic, testimony of Slavisa Dobricanin, cited session of 8 April 2005, p.572 and Trial against Milosevic, testimony of of Slavisa Dobricanin, cited session of 13 April 2005, p.677

[2] The Provincial Secretariate of the Internal Affairs of Kosovo

[3] Trial against Milosevic, testimony of of Slavisa Dobricanin, cited session of 8 April 2005, p.572 and Trial against Milosevic, testimony of of Slavisa Dobricanin, cited session of 13 April 2005, p.677

[4] Investigative judge of Prishtina District Court

[5] The building of the Provincial Secretariate of the Internal Affairs in Prishtina, which was partly damaged

"It seemed as if someone was in a rush to destroy them as soon as possible!"[1]

The overall argument made by the Belgrade politicians was that to hide the "guilt of the Albanians" someone destroyed evidence that the Serbian authorities possessed, which due to the "overload" of work could neither be given to the Finnish team, nor published by the Serbs. The evidence was lost just as in the Klecka Case! And yet, professor of forensic medicine, Dr. Slavisa Dobricanin, insisted that the court take his word that "on 37 out of a total of 40 bodies traces of nitrate had been found exactly in those parts where one expects to find with people who used firearms." To the panel at the International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia these words were not enough, not even from an "expert." Evidence was needed to satisfy the tribunal.

The topic moved from the paraffin glove test to another topic. The discussion turned to the weapons supposedly confiscated by the police on January 15 after the fighting in Recak. Details were disclosed in an attempt to convince the tribunal that the Serbs had nothing to do with the people killed during the fighting. Weapons had been found near the corpses, which indicated that the victims were soldiers. In their attempt to bring credibility to their case, the Serbian defense claimed that there were 40 weapons of various kinds. The assertion that there were 40 weapons found beside 40 corpses raised suspicions. According to the testimony, none were lost or claimed as trophies by the other side. This match-up was a little too precise to be believable.

Referring to the report about the killings in Recak, Milosevic addressed General Drewienkiewicz and asked him to explain if he thought that the investigative judge, Danica Marinkovic had fabricated such facts. Drewienkiewicz replied unequivocally.

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during NATO bombings and it's on a distance of 1070 meters from the Prishtina District Court. Bombing this building to destroy the documents of the expertise on the Reçak Massacre in the building of Prishtina District Court would be an unlikely efficiency in the bombing process.

[1] Trial against Milosevic, testimony of of Slavisa Dobricanin, cited session of 8 April 2005, p.572 and Trial against Milosevic, testimony of of Slavisa Dobricanin, cited session of 13 April 2005, p.677

I am sure she wrote what she was ordered to write, but I don't know to what extent one can relate these weapons with the killed persons from which you claim to have taken these weapons. I want to see a correlation. Those weapons might have been in the basement of any police station, in any place in Kosovo. There had been plenty of weapons in those basements. Someone might go to a police stations basement, pick up the guns, place them by the corpses and then declare, Look! We killed them because they were terrorists and as evidence of that, here are these weapons![1]

The suspiciously perfect match between 40 killed and 40 weapons raised yet another problem, one the Serbian experts had not foreseen.

Since Dr. Slavisa Dobricanin, this time in his role as a member of the forensic team, did not deny that her position was weakened by results of the paraffin glove test and the electron microscope, which proved the opposite of what the Serbian forensic team members claimed. At that point, the question arising in the court room was, "wouldn't it have been possible to prove conclusively whether any of the Recak victims used any of the weapons that were shown to the journalists? Of course, since the investigators had the both the weapons and the victims' fingerprints, it ought to have been easy to determine.[2]

Relying on the fact that after the paraffin glove test the corpses had been fingerprinted for identification, Slavisa Dobricanin was asked if anyone "had done research on the automatic rifles to determine if there were fingerprints of any Recak victims on any of the weapons?"[3]

"Sir, this is beyond my professional field," Slavisa Dobricanin, the Serbian expert and the professor of forensic medicine replied in embarrassment. "I think an analysis like that should have been done.

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[1] Trial against Milosevic, testimony of Karol John Drewienkiewicz, cited session of 15 April 2002, p. 467-469
http://www.hlc-rdc.org/Transkripti/Milosevic/_Milosevic.html

[2] Trial against Milosevic, testimony of Slavisa Dobricanin, cited session of 12 April 2005, p. 629
http://www.hlc-rdc.org/Transkripti/Milosevic/_Milosevic.html

[3] Ibid., p. 628

I can't say for sure if it has been done or not, and believe me, I can't say anything more about this. I have seen those weapons, and I have no idea what has been done with them afterwards, whether they were checked for fingerprints or not. Believe me, that I do not know."[1]

In this case, Slavisa Dobricanin appears to have forgotten that during the judicial process against Milosevic although he once spoke as an expert of forensic medicine, at other times he testified as a member of the investigative unit led by judge Danica Marinkovic. Although he has only seen the weapons once and has no idea what has happened to them, Dobricanin expects people to believe his story that "these weapons belonged to the Albanian terrorists!"

Dobricanin's words were not enough. Members of the court persisted in their search for answers regarding the guns. They needed to know where the weapons were found. Were they at the same location as the 40 victims? The Judges of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia wanted to clarify whether there was, "a report, record or document which claims that the guns and the bodies were found at the same location in Recak?"[2]

The court's persistent questioning made Dobricanin lose his temper. He replied arrogantly, "I don't have such a report and frankly, I was never interested in such a report."[3]

Slavisa Dobricanin declared that he is "a man who accepts only facts" and admitted that his facts agreed with those who think that a great mistake was made by not running an investigation at the crime scene. Still, he argued that the Serbian authorities were not responsible for this omission. Not surprisingly, he blamed the Albanians by asking, "Why weren't we allowed to approach the bodies for four days, since the bodies of those killed in Recak had been exposed there in an open space for four days!"[4]

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[1] Ibid., p.628
[2] Ibid., p.640
[3] Ibid., p.640
[4] Ibid., p. 654 the Process against Milosevic, testimony of Slavisa Dobrcanin, cited session of 12 April

Apparrently, Dobricanin thought that everyone had forgotten that the corpses from the Recak Massacre were found the morning of January 16 and were placed in the mosque of the village the same day, and that on January 17, the he and the Serbian police transferred them to the Institute for Forensic Medicine in Prishtina. Or maybe, "he can't recall" as he often said, because "it's been a very long time since then." Still, Slavisa Dobricanin Was "a man who only accepts facts" but failed to provide the court with those facts. They were supposed to take his word. Although the results of the paraffin glove test were neither given to the Finnish team nor included in the autopsy report, we should believe Slavisa Dobricanin that 37 out of 40 corpses had unburned gunpowder residue on their hands.

In addition, although there was never a report to confirm that the weapons were found at the same location as the corpses or any fingerprints from the 40 persons on whom the autopsy was conducted, Dobricanin expected the court to believe his word that, "37 out of 40 corpses were identified as KLA terrorists, and three remained unidentified" From the weapons he moved to the issue on the identity of those killed. In this case, not as a forensic medicine professor, but in conformity with his "life experience," Dr. Slavisa Dobricanin explained that "three of the unidentified corpses had marks on their bodies that proved they were not Muslims, or members of nations that circumcise at birth."[1]

The issue that the men were uncircumsized was also presented as an argument by other members of the Serbian Forensic team. But, unlike Slavisa Dobricanin, two other members of the Serbian forensic team, Dusan Dunjic[2] and Vujadin Otasevic,[3] both professors of forensic medicine, testified that "four of them were uncircumcised, and they had American or English surnames. So there was a good chance that they

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2005, p. 547-548

[1] Documentary of TVB " Kosovo : Račak Lazi i istine." It is also important to note here that in the US, 90% of men are circumcised at birth, so it is unlikely than any of the men were American.

[2] Jürgen Elsasser, cited book, p.64

[3] Večerne Novosti, cited article "Laž za... "

might have been Walker's instructors or mercenaries of foreign services and organizations."[1]

The job of professors of forensic medicine should be to determine the cause and the method of the killing, to analyze the wounds and injuries, but instead the two addressed issues that were outside their purview. Why the men were not circumcised was not a matter for pathologists, but for investigators. In this case, Dunjic and Otasevic did not say whether they had reached to this "discovery" in their capacity as pathologists, as members of investigative unit or as "experienced people." Like Dobricanin, they said that they relied on facts and felt that the court should take their word for what happened. One of the things they claimed was that "in the house that served as KLA Headquarters, the police found a computer carrying data of the terrorist brigade and a list of 126 terrorists in Recak. Among them, four were foreigners, with American or English surnames. They were either foreign instructors or specialists." They expected the court to believe this report just because they said so without the benefit of evidence.

To clarify this issue, Danica Marinkovic the judge who Milosevic asked to testify that the bodies she found in Recak were not civilians but terrorists, addressed the court again. During her testimony of March 24, 2005 she was asked about the list of 126 terrorists that was found in the KLA Headquarters in Recak. The question was whether the names of the 40 people who underwent the autopsy were also on that list.[2]

Clearly disturbed by a question she wasn't expecting, Danica Marinkovic asked the panel to believe that she couldn't recall. "In the tape you showed you can hear me reading names," she said. "However, I can't recall now, it's been a long time, but the notebook with the list of names was taken. This material is evidence included in the complete file of the Recak Case. Therefore, you can compare these."[3]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Trial against Milosevic, Testimony of Danica Marinkovic, cited session of 24 March 2005, p. 275 http://www.hlc-rdc.org/Transkripti/Milosevic/_Milosevic.html

[3] Ibid., p.275

But, in order to compare the names of those killed with the list revealed at the improvised press conference at the "KLA Headquarters in Recak," that list is needed. Naturally, the judge asked about the whereabouts of the list with 126 names.

"You know what?" Danica Marinkovic asked instead of answering the question, "Once the investigations were over I gave the complete file to the public prosecutor in charge of this case. The subject may be in the Prishtina District Court, with whom we have no contacts so maybe you can get those files. After finishing the investigation and receiving the results and opinions in relation to the autopsy, on March 1, 1999 I have submitted the full documentation to the public prosecutor of Prishtina District. This is the case KRI 14/99."[1]

So, the full documentation of the Recak Case (Kri 14/99) is in the District Court in Prishtina. It has not been burned as Slavisa Dobricanin claimed on the hearing of April 13, 2005. So, the documents were allegedly in Prishtina. and if they can't be located, we ought to believe the investigative judge Danica Marinkovic, that perhaps, "those files have been destroyed by the Albanians, the UNMIK, or someone else to hide the culpability of Albanians."

It is interesting that every time members of the forensic or investigative teams were required to bring actual facts to support their claim that the dead found in Recak were KLA terrorists, the investigative judge and the professors of forensic medicine blamed it on their memories. They insisted that they "can't recall" or that, "it has happened a very long time ago." One thing they did not forget was that three, sometimes four of the men killed were uncircumcised. The selective memory of these individuals was suspicious.

However, in the hearing of 12 April, 2005 Dobricanin had to face questions regarding the two lists: one prepared by Danica Marinkovic, and the other prepared by the Prosecutor's Office. Dobricanin was forced

[1] Ibid., p.275

to admit that there were discrepancies in the names and surnames of three brothers (Jashar Salihu, Rifat Salihu, and Shukri Salihu) who were killed on January 15 in Recak. In his defense, he was adamant about what was and was not his job.

> *The forensic team did not take part in the process of final identification. That was done by the criminology technicians. That is probably how it was done. I must admit that I am not related to these names in any way. When we were conducting the autopsy in the institute, we did not get the names of those killed, nor did we care, because they were corpses taken in a morgue where the identification process took place, and the documents that record that process have been taken to the criminology technicians of the provincial Internal Affairs Sector. And what I can say is that I found these names here, and nowhere else. I don't know why you ask me about this, when I know nothing about it! I see all these documents here for the first time. We did the autopsy, but the process of identification was done elsewhere, in another building. I was supposed to eventually receive the verified names so we could record them in our protocols. I never received them. The truth I have stated is that we found three people who were not circumcised! I think that the confusion around these three people generated from their names and surnames.*[1]

In his testimony, Slavisa Dobricani did not say why the names of the three killed brothers had caused confusion. It is unclear how the names of Jashar Salihu, Rifat Salihu and Shukri Salihu were thought to be the names of American or English instructors or non-Muslim mercenaries.

Below is the full list of the civilians and KLA soldiers killed in Recak on January 15, 1999. The readers can see clearly that none of the names or surnames could be confused with "the names of the American or English instructors, or non-Muslim mercenaries!"

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[1] Transcript from the trial against Milosevic, S. Dobricanin, 12 April 2005, p.605-609

The list of civilians killed in Recak, on 15 January, 1999

Nr	First Name	Father's name	Surname	Birthplace	Date of birth	Age
1	Halim	Rizah	Beqiri	Recak	24.07.1985	14
2	Hasan	Rizah	Beqiri	Recak	13.11.1983	16
3	Shukri	Halim	Salihu	Recak	06.02.1982	17
4	Xheladin	Ahmet	Jakupi	Recak	05.04.1982	17
5	Bujar	Hanifi	Hajrizi	Recak	17.02.1979	20
6	Murtez	Ramiz	Imeri	Recak	20.05.1979	20
7	Muhamet	Hafir	Mustafa	Recak	15.01.1978	21
8	Nexhat	Faik	Ramadani	Recak	10.02.1978	21
9	Raif	Milaim	Salihu	Recak	12.03.1978	21
10	Zenel	Shefshet	Beqiri	Recak	22.09.1978	21
11	Hanumshahe	Bajram	Mehmeti	Recak	10.10.1977	22
12	Bajrush	Nesret	Shabani	Recak	01.11.1976	23
13	Sali	Faik	Ramadani	Recak	26.04.1974	25
14	Jashar	Milaim	Salihu	Recak	08.09.1974	25
15	Mufail	Mehdi	Hajrizi	Recak	01.02.1969	30
16	Mustafë	Beqë	Asllani	Rancë	01.01.1968	31
17	Skender	Sylejman	Halili	Recak	17.12.1968	31
18	Hakip	Imer	Imeri	Recak	01.01.1966	33
19	Bajram	Haki	Xheladini	Recak	24.02.1964	35
20	Ragip	Jahir	Bajrami	Recak	18.11.1964	35
21	Sheremet	Shyqeri	Syla	Recak	05.11.1962	37
22	Fatmir	Faik	Ramadani	Recak	27.05.1961	38
23	Ajet	Minush	Brahimi	Recak	03.02.1959	40
24	Lutfi	Hasan	Bilalli	Recak	15.07.1957	42
25	Muhamet	Faik	Ismajli	Recak	14.04.1955	44
26	Mehmet	Qerim	Jakupi	Recak	17.08.1955	44
27	Njazi	Sherif	Zymeri	Recak	01.01.1954	45
28	Sadik	Xheme	Osmani	Recak	21.05.1954	45
29	Haqif	Shefki	Hysenaj	Petrovë	10.07.1949	50
30	Rizah	Maliq	Beqiri	Recak	10.05.1946	53
31	Arif	Murat	Metushi	Recak	25.09.1946	53
32	Eshref	Halim	Jakupi	Recak	11.03.1945	54
33	Bajram	Sokol	Mehmeti	Recak	26.08.1945	54
34	Ahmet	Izet	Jakupi	Recak	28.02.1942	57
35	Sabri	Murat	Syla	Recak	16.06.1939	60
36	Shyqeri	Isamajl	Syla	Recak	01.01.1938	61
37	Hajriz	Brahim	Brahimi	Recak	15.04.1937	62
38	Haki	Murat	Metushi	Recak	10.10.1937	62
39	Banush	Azem	Kamberi	Recak	09.04.1936	63
40	Ahmet	Zenun	Mustafa	Recak	01.01.1933	66
41	Nazmi	Nuhë	Imeri	Recak	13.06.1917	82
42	Sahide	Hysen	Metushi (Zeqiri)	Shtimje	06.07.1938	61

The list of KLA soldiers killed on 15 January 1999

Nr	First Name	Father's name	Surname	Birthplace	Date of birth
1	Ismail	Adem	Luma	Kraishtë - Lipjan	05.03.1975
2	Skender	Nezir	Qarri	Greiçec - Shtime	24.05.1975
3	Nazim	Tahir	Kokollari	Prizren	22.03.1974
4	Enver	Hyzer	Rashiti	Recak - Shtime	10.07.1974
5	Ali	Ragip	Beqa	Pustenik–Hani i Elezit	30.01.1973
6	Kadri	Shyqeri	Syla	Recak - Shtime	17.06.1967
7	Shaqir	Zejnush	Berisha	Recak - Shtime	08.11.1969
8	Sadik	Murat	Mujota	Mollapolc - Shtime	20.02.1943
9	Mehmet	Zenun	Mustafa	Recak - Shtime	17.03.1938

The witnesses summoned by Milosevic's defense could not keep up the pretense that the victims' clothes were changed or that Albanians positioned the bodies to give the impression that a massacre of civilians had taken place. However, to keep this madness alive, Slobodan Milosevic tried to manipulate his listeners with some photographs of a murdered person. During many sessions of the trial against him, Milosevic relied on the photos of Eshref Jakupi, killed on January 15. In this discussion I will only focus on some sessions which are representative of the many hearings where Milosevic attempted to manipulate the court using this photo. The essence is the same throughout. Milosevic used the photos in an attempt to argue that the corpses had been moved.

Thus, in the cited session of April 15, when the English General Drewienkiewicz[1] testified, Milosevic asked him if, "he had seen the photo of Walker walking by the body of a man with the typical Albanian fez on his head?"[2]

He demanded an explanation: "How is it possible for someone to be shot in the head and yet his hat was still unmoved from his head? How was this possible, especially when this hat has the shape of the tip of an egg? When people get shot like that, they are thrown out of their shoes, whereas this one still has the hat on! The pathologists of forensic

[1] Trial against Milosevic, testimony of Karol John Drewienkiewicz, 15 April 2002, p.463 http://www.hlc-rdc.org/Transkripti/Milosevic/_Milosevic.html

[2] Ibid., p.463

William Walker inspects the site where the Albanians had been executed

Medicine argue that such a shot would make the eyes of the victims pop out, let alone the hat off the top of the head! Are you aware that the pile of corpses there was staged for TV shows?"[1]

"Of course", Drewienkiewicz replied. "It is one of the thoughts that came to me when I was climbing the hill. When I saw the corpses piled up like that, I concluded that they had not been moved, but had been killed where they were lying. To this day, I hold on to this opinion!"[2]

Despite the answer of General Drewienkiewicz during the hearing of May 30th Slobodan Milosevic asked the same question to the Canadian General Joseph Omer Michel Maisonneuve, "You can see that the Albanian fez has the shape of the top of an egg. Can you imagine that someone who might have been shot in the head, falls down but his hat

[1] Ibid., p.463
[2] Ibid., p.463

remains on?"[1] "I suppose that is impossible,"[2] Maisonneuve replied.

Satisfied with the responses to his leading questions, Milosevic repeated them to several other witnesses, hoping to influence public opinion, especially in Serbia and Kosovo where the trial was broadcast live in several TV channels. The testimony from Slavisa Dobricanin on April 8, 2005, summarizes this line of questioning best. Milosevic asked Dr. Dobricanin, "from his position as a highly experienced expert in forensic investigation, can you tell us if it is possible for a hat to remain on a man's head after that man has been shot in the head?"

> *"Never!" Slavisa Dobricanin said. During my career have I seen a man shot in the head, fall off a car, hit by a rock, a hammer, and so on, and such cases have been plenty in Kosovo. I've never seen any cases when the hat remained on the head. The hat must have fallen off the head, near or far from the body; it depends on the pressure of kinetic energy. It is impossible for this man who was shot in the head, as seen clearly from the photo, to keep his hat on. Furthermore, no matter what type of injury, the hat couldn't remain on the head. This is a very specific round hat; it doesn't cover the ears, but remains on top of the head, so this is one more reason for it not to stay on.*[3]

Countless debates went on about whether the hat "shaped like an egg" could remain on a head shot by a bullet. For those trying to find answers, resolve contradictions, or make sense out of these arguments, there is an old Albanian proverb for such situations: "Seeking to find hair on an egg!"

To strengthen the impression that someone had moved the bodies of the victims in Recak, Slobodan Milosevic brought two photos of the same person. In one of the photos, the victim is seen without the fez whereas in the other photo, the same person in the same location can be seen with the white fez in the head.

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[1] Trial against Milosevic, testimony of Joseph Omer Michel Maisonneuve, 30 May 2002, p. 551 http://www.hlc-rdc.org/Transkripti/Milosevic/_Milosevic.html

[2] Ibid., p.551

[3] His thought was interrupted. See: Transcript during the process against Milosevic, S. Dobricanin, cited session of 8 April 2005, p.534

Eshref Jakupi without the fez

Eshref Jakupi with the fez

These two photos indicate clearly that somebody has put on or taken off the victim's hat. According to the logic of Milosevic and his followers, if someone has put on or has taken off the hat from a victim, that proves that the person has not been shot where he was found, but has been moved to another location. Belgrade's official position, repeated by Milosevic on many occasions, was that this person was killed in combat, and to create a particular image for the television cameras, "he was thrown in the pile of the other corpses in the gully."

So, who did it? Did the KLA soldiers do it under the instructions of William Walker in order to create the impression of a massacre? Or, perhaps it was someone else? This issue is connected to the Serbian claim that the Recak Massacre was staged. The previous discussion demonstrated that the witnesses[1] called by Slobodan Milosevic in the Hague Tribunal did not bring the evidence he was waiting for. On the contrary, the testimony of the trial witnesses revealed that:

– The 40 Albanians who underwent an autopsy, were indeed killed wearing the clothes they had on, and the story that someone changed them into civilian clothes from KLA military uniforms was a fiction created by the political cronies of Milosevic in Belgrade and perpetrated by the Serbian investigative and forensics teams.

[1] Head of Serbian Forensic Team (Dr. Slavisa Dobricanin) and investigative judge (Danica Marinkovic)

The investigation in the creek, where each centimeter of the land was shoveled, examined with a spoon and gone over with metal detectors, showed that the victims had been shot at that site, and that the bodies had not been moved. The corpses had not been mutilated "post mortem" to create the impression of a massacre; the victims' wounds were caused while they were still alive. The claim that six of the corpses were mutilated by dogs was both false and repugnant. The results of the paraffin glove test which was meant to prove that 37 out of 40 victims had used some type of firearms, leading to the conclusion that they had been killed fighting, were never published by the Serbian authorities, never given to the Finnish forensic team, and were not included in the final report of the Serbian forensic team, because, "the team had been overloaded with extended operations, and they hadn't been able to find time to include such information." The claim that the test found gunshot residue on 37 victims is highly suspicious

- Despite the fact that the "Serbian experts" had fingerprinted 40 victims who were supposedly killed fighting and possessed the 40 weapons supposedly used by the victims, no analysis was run in order to determine if any of the victims had used any of the weapons. To someone like Dr. Slavisa Dobricanin, the fact that there was no report meant that such analysis had not been carried out, not that there was no report because there were no weapons at the immediate scene.[1]
- On the other hand, these facts might lead someone like the English general Drewienkiewicz to conjecture that those weapons may have been taken out of Serbian police station basements and placed near the bodies to announce to the world "Here they are! We killed them because they were terrorists, and here are their weapons as evidence."[2]

[1] Trial against Milosevic, testimony of Slavisa Dobricanin, cited session of 12 April 2005, p.628
[2] Trial against Milosevic, testimony of Karol John Drewienkiewicz, cited session of 15 April 2002, p. 467-

Only those involved in the staging of the scene using the weapons to create a story for the media knew exactly where they had come from. The most plausible reason for failing to carry out an analysis matching victims' fingerprints with any found on the weapons was the knowledge that such a match was impossible because the weapons had never been near the victims. Had the forensic or investigative team thought that one day they might be forced to explain this discrepancy, they would have come up with a story to satisfy the court. Indeed, one of the weapons, the machine gun Browning M2, could have been used by the 14 year-old boy, Halim Beqiri. The fact that this machine gun and its accessories weighs 72.6 kg is not meaningful, because according to Dr. Slavisa Dobricanin, "the age doesn't mean anything to Albanians."[1] The weight of the gun must not either.

The claim that "at the house in Recak, which served as KLA Headquarters, a list of the names of 126 terrorists was found," and that "nothing was done to identify the 40 victims who had undergone autopsies to see if their names matched those in the list" exposed the fact that that the list of names read by Danica Marinkovic on January 17, 1999, in front of journalists was fabricated.

Finally, one of the more repellent claims put forward by Milosevic's defense was that four American or English surnames were found on the list of "terrorists." The defense surmised that they "may have been foreign instructors or specialists." This claim was supported by "evidence" from the Serbian forensic experts that three or four of the victims were uncircumcised. [2]

Despite serious doubts about the claim that there were "English or American Instructors" among the KLA soldiers in Recak, the Serbian witnesses wanted to keep this story alive. Four years after the hearing in Hague when Dobricanin was compelled to say that it was not his

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[1] Trial against Milosevic, testimony of Slavisa Dobricanin, cited session of 12 April 2005, p.641-642

[2] The notion that these men are American because they were uncircumcised is ridiculous. In the US, more than 90% of men are circumcised.

job to identify the corpses, and that the obvious discrepancies the lists had nothing to do with him, on the 10th anniversary of the "Recak Massacre" this same "expert" stated, "We could never find out who were the uncircumcised people, and it is interesting that nobody in the Hague insisted or cared to know about this case."[1] It would be odd that ten years later Dobricanin is still fixated on this except that his insistence on the case of the uncircumcised men is intended to blame "Anglo-American imperialism" for the conspiracy against Yugoslavia. This will be examined in depth in the second part of the book.

The statements of the Serbian experts that, "in only two cases they had found unburned gunpowder residue, which proves that they were probably killed from a distance of approximately one and a half to two meters, whereas all the others were killed from a distance further then two meters or more"[2] did little to help the case. This was not the distance of 500 meters that Milosevic expected to hear from the witness stand.

And finally, Dr. Slavisa Dobricanin claimed that the files belonging to investigative judge Danica Marinkovic disappeared forever because NATO bombed the building of the provincial Sector of Internal Affairs in 1999 where they were stored. Dobricanin said that NATO bombed the building because, "someone was in a rush to destroy the evidence of the Albanians' guilt as soon as possible."[3] In addition, the statement of Danica Marinkovic that she had handed, "the complete documentation of the KRI14/99 case to the public prosecutor of the Prishtina District on March 1, 1999"[4] demonstrated that the lies of the "Serbian experts" could not disguise the insanity that was invented in Belgrade.

After that, the journalists' articles remained the only source of propaganda.

Media Manipulation or Mediation of Manipulation?

[1] Documentary of TVB "Kosovo : Račak Laži i istine"
[2] Process against Milosevic, testimony of Slavisa Dobricanin, cited session of 8 April 2005, p.540-541
[3] Ibid.,p.572
[4] Trial against Milosevic, testimony of Danica Marinkovic,cited session of 24 March 2005, p 275

Convinced that Belgrade's story about the Recak Massacre was still alive, Milosevic repeated several times during his judicial process that "according to the foreign journalists, no civilians were killed in Recak, they were all KLA terrorists." In a press conference, a journalist of the *Associated Press* had declared, "that the action of the Serbian forces was crystal clear!"[1] Also, a journalist from Le Figaro had expressed, from the crime scene, a shock about William Walker's statement[2] and so on.

In the cited session from the hearing of June 12, 2002 Milosevic asked directly from Walker to comment on the statements of the Associated Press journalists[3]!

When asked for specific names of the *Associated Press* journalists, Milosevic replied that, "he had extracted this information from the references of the French journalists who rely on those of the Associated Press."[4]

In all of the books, articles, or TV shows that deal with the "Recak Case", the names of the French journalists of Le Figaro and Le Monde[5] are mentioned as those who refer to the journalists of the Associated Press. Both Jürgen Elsässer and the website *Konkret,* were mentioned as sources about what the French journalists had written relying on what they were told by the journalists of the Associated Press. *Berliner Zeitung* and Bo Adams are also mentioned as those who also relied on the above-mentioned French journalists. The newspaper *Times* is also mentioned along the same line. However, the journalists of the *Associated Press* who are cited so frequently remain anonymous! Why? pCould it be due to the fact that the journalists who informed Renaud Girard were two Serbs he met in the Media Center,[6] is this why the true sources of the misinformation were never disclosed?pMaybe the ethnicity of the journalists sparked fear that

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[1] Trial against Milosevic, testimony of Karol John Drewienkiewicz, cited session of 13 May 2002, p. 457
[2] Ibid., p. 4591
[3] Trial against Milosevic, testimony of William Walker, cited session of 12 June 2002, p.619-622
[4] Ibid., p. 619
[5] Renaud Girard e Christophe Chetelot
[6] Media center created by Milosevic and controlled by people of his regime.

the credibility of the information could be damaged, if their Serbian names came to light. Renaud Girard was informed by the Serbian journalists of the media press center about "The great Serbian victory in Recak," where not 15, but 40 or 50 people were killed. "Those people were trustworthy," Renaud Gerard said in an interview with the Belgian journalist Michel Collon. "Maybe not fully trustworthy, meaning they did not inform me about everything, in particular about the Serbian massacres on Albanians, but what they say is trustworthy."[1]

No matter how inconceivable it may seem, Renaud Girard, published doubts about the article of January 16th, 1999 titled "Trail of Bodies Tells Kosovo Tale,"[2] the *Associated Press* reporter notes that, "a decapitated grandfather[3] was lying in the yard outside his barn; on the hillside road, mutilated bodies; an 18 year-old woman shot in the back." On that Saturday morning each step through this Kosovo village of 1,400 inhabitants revealed another horror from the violent storm of the Serbian police from the day before, "burned houses, broken windows and shattered lives." Eddy continued her story:

> *Rahim pointed out to us to a pile of 15 bodies heaped in a ravine. Among them there were his father and brother. Eight more bodies laid frozen in death, arms outstretched and faces contorted in fear, mutilated and heaped in that ravine. Some of them had red bullet wounds that turned yellow around their necks. While others had more gruesome head wounds, bloody gouged eyes and smashed foreheads. Keys, empty wallets, a crushed pack of cigarettes lay on the ground beside them, as if torn from their pockets. A village man surveying the bodies placed back the traditional white cap fallen off the head of an elderly man. From the village below, the wailing of women echoed through the valley as mothers, sisters, wives were learning about the loved ones who were killed.*[4]

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1 Michel Collon, Monopoly- l'OTAN à la conquête du monde, Editions Epo, Bruxelles, 2000, p. 20

2 Trail of Bodies Tells Kosovo Tale, By MELISSA EDDY .c The Associated Press AP-NY-01-16-99 1718EST http://www.srpska-mreza.com/sirius/KLA-Racak.html (article number 3)

3 The journalists uses the word "grandfather" in her article

4 Trail of Bodies Tells Kosovo Tale, By MELISSA EDDY .c The Associated Press

Imer Emini 20, told reporters that Serbian police gathered about 30 people, mostly men, and ordered them to stand against a wall. "Terrified from the chaos of fire from weapons and shelling, some of the villagers started to run. and the police opened fire," Emini said. According to the international monitors, the Serbian police killed 45 people in Recak, including three women and a child."[1]

The next day, January 16, in an article titled "Serbian Forces Fire on Kosovo Village,"[2] Melissa Eddy observed that, "Early Sunday, the bodies of 40 of the victims were brought to the village mosque where they were laid out under plastic sheets. In Belgrade, Serbian President, Milan Milutonovic, repeated police claims that the ethnic Albanians were rebels killed in combat, although the dead included three women, a 12 year-old boy and an old man - all in civilian clothes!" The author of the article emphasizes that, "Many were shot at close range and some of the bodies were mutilated, and eyes were gouged out. A man lay decapitated in the courtyard of his compound."[3] Milutonovic accused William Walker, the American head of the international monitoring mission, of making, "false and personal assessments which are totally unsubstantiated." Walker blamed government forces for the massacre, which he called "a crime against humanity." International monitors and journalists came across the carnage Saturday morning in Recak, 15 miles south of the provincial capital, Prishtina, after having been banned from the site by Serbian police the previous day.[4]

In the article of January 18, "Serbian Forces Attack Albanian Village,"[5] *Associated Press* reporter Eddy discussed the international reaction

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http://www.srpska-mreza.com/sirius/KLA-Racak.html (article number 3)

1 Trail of Bodies Tells Kosovo Tale, By MELISSA EDDY .c The Associated Press
http://www.srpska-mreza.com/sirius/KLA-Racak.html (article number 3)

2 Serb Forces Fire on Kosovo Village, By MELISSA EDDY .c The Associated Press, AP-NY-01-17-99 0844EST
http://www.srpska-mreza.com/sirius/KLA-Racak.html (article number 8)

3 Information included in the beginning of the article of 16 January

4 The Associated Press, By MELISSA EDDY.c "Serb Forces Fire on Kosovo Village"
http://www.srpska-mreza.com/sirius/KLA-Racak.html (article number 8)

5 The Associated Press, By MELISSA EDDY.c "Serb Forces Attack Albanian Village", AP-NY-01-18-99 0846EST
http://www.srpska-mreza.com/sirius/KLA-Racak.html (article number 10)

to the massacre, “During an urgent meeting of the OSCE Permanent Council in Vienna, Austria, the American Ambassador David Johnson, expressed outrage today, not only at the massacre of ethnic Albanians, but at Yugoslav authorities as a scandalous attempt to present the cold-blooded slaughter and mutilation of civilians as a military operation against terrorists.”

In this article Melissa Eddy informed us that, in the Washington State Department, spokesman James Rubin condemned Sunday's violence in Recak and called the Serbian actions, “a provocation.”

Even former Republican presidential candidate Bob Dole expressed frustration, “I think it's time the United States, the United Nations and NATO stopped expressing big concern and do something to stop Milosevic before he kills more innocent people. I hope there would be NATO airstrikes at least.” Dole said on ABC's *Good Morning America*.[1]

Let us return briefly to Milosevic’s effort to put his own spin on the story using the photos of Eshref Jakupi, killed by the Serb forces.

Albanian witnesses testified that in a sign of respect for the murdered man, someone had put the fez back on his head. Such thing could be interpreted as merely a cultural argument in a case that requires “neutral eyewitnesses” because of the serious nature of the crime. Still, the Recak Massacre itself grew out of a culture of intolerance toward others, encouraged by the dictatorial regime of Belgrade.

Even the anonymous *Associated Press* reporter who was mentioned so many times without attribution by the mouthpieces of the Belgrade regime, on the day following the Recak Massacre, testified in her article that, “village men examining the bodies replaced the traditional white cap that had fallen from an old man's head.”[2]

Is this the only reason why the name of this *Associated Press* reporter, Melissa Eddy was never mentioned? Probably not. All three articles by this

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Trail of Bodies Tells Kosovo Tale, By MELISSA EDDY .c The Associated Press AP-NY-01-16-99 1718EST http://www.srpska-mreza.com/sirius/KLA-Racak.html (article number 3)

reporter prove the opposite of what the Belgrade regime was propagating. They prove how 'crystal clear'[1] and unequivocal the action against Albanian civilians in the village of Recak was.

I hope that by now the reader is enlightened about why the name of the *Associated Press* reporter was not mentioned by Belgrade, and why Milosevic did not invite Melissa Eddy to speak for the defense. Milosevic's defense needed reporters who would be willing to "prove" that no massacre had occurred in Recak; that, "the execution of civilians was a lie" and so on. This is exactly why Melissa Eddy, who was in Recak immediately after the killings, was never mentioned by name, whereas Bo Adam, a *Berliner Zeitung* journalist who had visited Recak a full 14 months after the event, was invited to testify.

At the beginning of his testimony of January 26, 2005 the *Berliner Zeitung* reporter explained the reasons for his trip of January 23, 2005 to Recak, Kosovo. His main motive was to verify the authenticity of the statements president Bill Clinton made to the American people on the occasion of the attacks against Milosevic's regime. More specifically, he wanted to investigate on the ground if it was true when Clinton said that, "innocent men, women and children were taken out of their houses, forced to kneel on the ground and then subjected to a fusillade of bullets, not for what they had done, but because of their ethnic background."[2]

After researching the list of the people killed during the police and military action of January 15, 1999 he concluded that in this case we didn't have to deal with the killing of children, but that of one child and two women![3] The difference between "children" and "one child" led Bo Adam to the conclusion that, "Clinton had lied!"[4] We can only conclude from Adam's remarks that he thinks that the death of a single child is inconsequential, and more children must die before the American president should take notice.

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[1] Trial against Milosevic, testimony of Karol John Drewienkiewicz, cited session of 13 May 2002, p. 457
[2] Trial against Milosevic, Witness Bo Adam, cited session of 26 January 2005, p.254
[3] Ibid., p.258
[4] Ibid., p.271-272

As for the murder of the boy whose name was on the list of those killed in Recak, Bo Adam told his readers, that "he had visited his family home and expressed his condolences[1] to the boy's mother. The boy's family had come out some 10, 20 or 30 meters from the front yard of the house (he can't remember exactly), and went to the place where the boy had been killed. Someone from the small group of people who had been accompanying him[2] told him that the boy had been shot from the hill several hundred meters away. He can't remember exactly who told him, because that did not matter. What mattered to him was that he was able to verify that this boy did not have to kneel in the mud, and he did not get killed by a fusillade of bullets."[3] Therefore, Clinton had lied, concluded Bo Adam on the first case!

It is not necessary to bring the gruesome evidence published by journalists Pierre Hazan and Melissa Eddy which prove the opposite of what this self-styled investigative journalist "discovered" on the case 14 months later.

Writing about another murder, Adams said that someone from the group accompanying him said that "the woman had been killed from a hill, a few hundred meters away." and no matter how tragic this was, he argued, it shows that she hadn't been executed, she wasn't forced to kneel down in the mud, and she didn't get killed by a fusillade of bullets. Hence, Clinton had lied in this case as well.[4]

In addition to the information from unidentified sources to whom he refers, Bo Adam wrote in his articles that an eye witness, whose identity he also can't remember, told him that, "The father of the kid had been killed in a lying position, while fighting with a weapon in his hands, therefore he wasn't forced to kneel down in the mud, and he didn't get killed by a fusillade of bullets."[5] Again, Clinton had lied.

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[1] Great humanist!

[2] According to his claims, Bo Adam was accompanied by an Albanian taxi driver, who could speak little English but they had managed to understand each other somehow, p.282

[3] Trial against Milosevic, testimony of Bo Adam, cited session of 26 January 2005, p.272-274

[4] Ibid., p.271-272

[5] Ibid., p.272-274

Interestingly, five years after his articles, in a judicial hearing where he was invited to testify in favor of Milosevic, Bo Adam recanted this part of his article. He declared that, "It had been verified that the boy's father had been shot in the chest, therefore he could not have been lying on the ground in a combat position when he was shot."[1]

Bo Adam's claim revealed that his article had spread misinformation. Somebody was lying about the death of the boy's father. Who is the liar? Can we blame sources whose identity the author does not remember? Whoever stands behind such a lie we may never know. What is abundantly clear about this case is demonstrated by the fact that reporter Bo Adam who had come to the Hague to testify that, "The massacre of Recak was a lie," had himself spread a lie that concealed the killing of innocent civilians in this village. In his hearing session, Bo Adam was recalled that in his article of March 24, 2000 he had quoted his companion who said that, "25 men were hiding in a barn, by the hill. Many of them had started to flee upwards, but had run into the police and had been killed."[2]

Bo Adam admitted he had quoted eyewitnesses to the killings. However, he emphasized that their testimony was not very significant and that there was a great difference between what he had written, that the 25 men had been killed during an attempt to flee, and what remained in the indictment[3] against Milosevic, was "That they had been taken out to be executed!"[4] To him, it was significant what the "eyewitnesses," whose names he could not remember, had told him of the event. Just to remind the readers, in his testimony Bo Adam said that his interpreter had been an Albanian taxi driver who could speak little English and with whom

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1 Ibid., p.274

2 Ibid., p.304

3 Paragraph 66 (A) p. 26 indictments against Miloševic case of Kosovo "On or about 15 January 1999, in the early morning hours, the village of Racak was attacked by forces of the FRY and Serbia. After shelling, the forces of the FRY and Serbia entered the village later in the morning and began conducting house-to-house searches. Villagers, who attempted to flee from the forces of the FRY and Serbia, were shot throughout the village. A group of approximately 25 men attempted to hide in a building, but were discovered by the forces of the FRY and Serbia. They were beaten and then were sent to a nearby hill, where they were shot and killed.."

4 Trial against Milosevic, Witness Bo Adam, cited session of 26 January 2005, p.305-306

he had managed to communicate somehow. Adam did not remember his name, either.[1]

The only thing that could be proven in Bo Adam's testimony was related to the presence of civilians who saw what happened in Recak. This didn't really help Milosevic's defense, because they expected to hear a repeat of the story invented by the regime in Belgrade, and disseminated by Milovan Drecun and Tomislav Magoci through the media press center.[2]

Seeing that they were in trouble, Milosevic and his defense stopped asking more questions; this was a very short session in comparison to the other sessions of this trial process. In spite of having published false statements about the massacre, Bo Adam did not help Milosevic's case.

Continuing Deception about the Recak Massacre: The Lie that Would Not Die

If we return to the two articles published in the French newspapers in January, 1999 we will see that the articles "Were the Victims of Recak Massacred in Cold Blood for Real?"[3], and "Black Clouds over a Massacre,"[4] merely paraphrased the information disseminated by Milovan Drecun and Tomislav Magoci two Serbian State Radio Television journalists. The shoddy research, cribbed from biased sources in Belgrade and peddled as fact by these French journalists, ought to have lacked any credibility, but after the NATO intervention mobilized anti-NATO and anti-American circles, these two marginal publications became main references for the Milosevic camp. In other words, Serbian journalists quoted as independent and objective sources, two essays that were essentially plagiarized from Belgrade propaganda.

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[1] Ibid., p.282

[2] Serbian state Media Center for Kosovo, located at Grand Hotel Prishtina, then led by Radovan *Uroševac*

[3] Le monde, Christophe Châtelot, Les morts de Racak ont-ils vraiment été massacrés froidement? 21.01.1999
http://www.srpska-reza.com/ddj/Racak/Articles/LeMonde990121.html

[4] Le Figaro, Renaud Girard, "Nuages noirs sur un massacre", 20/01.1999

In the article "The Serbian Massacre of Recak did not Exist,"[1] author Louis Magnin claimed once again that the "Pretext that justified the bombing of Yugoslavia was a big lie."[2] To come to this conclusion, the author acknowledged that he relied on the aforementioned articles in Milovan Drecun's book *The Second Kosovo Battle*.[3]

Ten years after the Recak Massacre and the emergence of new facts about the event, that 42 Albanian civilians were killed in this village and a woman is still missing, Magnin continued to repeat the story fabricated in Belgrade that, "There were no civilians in Recak; a KLA brigade of 126 soldiers was there, among them there were four foreign instructors with Anglo-Saxon names; that the soldiers who were killed were later stripped of their uniforms and dressed in civilian clothes; that the corpses were brought to a gully at the suggestion of William Walker, and they were posed in such a way as to create the impression that victims had not been killed while fighting, but were executed by the Serbian forces."[4]

Nine years after the discovery of the Milosevic's regime's cover-up of the crimes in Recak, the French historian and journalist, founder and chief editor of the francophone publication *Le Courrier des Balkans*, which is published in solidarity with Balkan journalists, Jean-Arnauld Derens nevertheless repeats this claim.

Also ignoring facts that had come to light about the cover-up, Jean-Arnold Derens, in his book *Kosovo Trap*,[5]contended that,

> *The KLA provoked the Serbian forces, which in return responded severely. On January 8th the KLA killed three police officers in a well-prepared ambush. Two more officers were killed few days later. The Serbian police began a retaliation action. They evacuated civilians from Recak, whereas KLA remained on the ground. The Friday of January 15th*

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1 Louis Magnin, "Le 'massacre' serbe de Racak n'a jamais eu lieu" në: http://www.mondialisation.ca/le-massacre-serbe-de-racak-n-a-jamais-eu-lieu/12232
2 Ibid.
3 Milovan Drecun, cited book, *Drugi kosovski boj*, p. 23
4 Louis Magnin, cited article
5 Jean-Arnauld Derens, *Le piège du Kosovo*, Editions Non Lieu, 2008, p. 130-131

saw rough confrontations between the police troops and the KLA, which was most likely supported by the local Albanians. The Serbian forces killed almost all the guards of Recak, a total of 51 people, whose bodies were repositioned at night, probably under KLA instructions, in order to reinforce the macabre character of the killings. Practically, all of the victims were adult men."[1]

The author, whose aim was to inform the reader how to avoid traps on the Kosovo issue, presented the distortion devised by Milosevic's political regime as if it were his own. Furthermore, Jean-Arnauld Derens added new lies to the Serbian official interpretation, which, if they were not his own invention, should be supported by sources that are shared with the reader.

Where did this historian find the information that "The Serbian police evacuated the villagers from Recak, whereas KLA remained on the ground." And, "If there were other civilians in the village, they were most likely in support of KLA." As well as that, "During the clashes all guards of Recak were killed."

Neither the heads of Slobodan Milosevic's regime who planned this crime, nor the Serbian police special forces under the command of Goran Radosavljevic Guri who executed the crime, nor the investigative judge Danica Marinkovic and the Serbian propaganda machinery that developed the cover-up said that, "The Serbian police evacuated the civilians from Recak." If Jean-Arnauld Derens did not disclose the source of this information intended to support Milosevic's claim that what happened was, "A crystal clear action in Recak,"[2] then Derens himself was the author of this lie!

I call it a new lie because Jean-Arnauld Derens in his book titled *The 100 Doors of the Yugoslav Conflict,* [3] co-authored with Cathrine Samy, has written that, "When the police were given the order to attack Recak,

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Process against Milosevic, testimony of Karol John Drewienkiewicz, cited session of 15 April 2002, p. 457

[3] Jean-Arnauld Derens & Cathrine Samary, *Les 100 portes des Conflits Yougoslaves*, Les Éditions de l'Atelier, Paris, 2000, p.427

the village which normally has 2,000 inhabitants was abandoned and empty. There were almost no women or children. This means that KLA had ordered an evacuation from Recak, because they were expecting such an attack as a response to the different provocations they had triggered few days before."[1]

Surely Jean-Arnauld Derens had not forgotten the lie he had published just a few years before. Beyond the intellectual incoherence of these contradictory claims, that the KLA, and then the Serbian police evacuated the civilian population from Recak, Jean-Arnauld Derens took his place alongside those who tried to conceal the fact that the Serbian forces had massacred Albanian civilians. Nine years after the autopsies of the 40 corpses and the identification of the two women and four people under 18[2], as well as the third woman, Sahide Metushi, who to this day remains missing, this French historian declared that, "Practically all the victims were male adults." It is unlikely that Jean-Arnauld Derens, as a journalist who has announced his solidarity with the journalists of the Balkans, has not read the article of Pierre Hazan,[3] which brings evidence of a child being killed in front of his mother's eyes.

Or maybe in this case he expressed solidarity with the Serbian expert of Forensic Medicine, Dr Slavisa Dobricanin, who said that, "14 year-old Albanians are mature youngsters and many of them have carried weapons, and the age doesn't mean anything."[4] "All of them are male adults," according to Jean-Arnauld Derens.

The reader probably remembers that on the day of the expedition to take the corpses out of Recak, as soon as she entered the mosque where the corpses were, the Serbian investigative judge Danica Marinkovic told the media that, "They're all men, there are no women or children, they are not massacred as they've tried to present it."[5]

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1 Ibid., p.295
2 See the full list of the people killed
3 Libération, Hazan Pierre, cited article "Nous étions sûrs de tous mourir"
4 Trial against Milosevic, testimony of Slaviša Dobričanin, cited session of 12 April 2005, p.641-642
5 RTS documentary cited above "Kosovo Racak Lažǐ i istine"

Maybe Jean-Arnauld Derens did not know that Danica Marinkovic is not a journalist, but an investigative judge. Seeing her in front of the journalists claiming that all those killed are men, and due to the wish for "solidarity with the Balkan journalists," he disseminates the cover-up of the crimes in Recak. "All of them are male adults." "Those that remained in Recak were the guards of the village." Furthermore, based on this logic, the 82 year old man, Nazmi Nuhe Imeri, born on June 13, 1917 was a civilian killed while defending Recak. "For Albanians the age doesn't mean a thing!" Certainly, Imeri was an adult.

However, anyone who compares the views published by Jean-Arnold Derens, in *Le Courrier des Balkans* with those broadcast by Milovan Dracun,[1] military and political correspondent of Serbia's Radio Television Network and against whom the Association of Independent Journalists of Serbia filed a suit for war crimes in Serbia, can see that Jean-Arnauld Derens is aligned with him and other journalists who served the warmongering propaganda which tried to conceal the war crimes and the genocide in Kosovo.

One would think that Jean-Arnauld Derens, being a historian, would have paid more attention to the many publications by the head of the Finnish team of forensic medicine Helena Ranta, where she concluded that "The thorough research in the gully proved that the victims had been killed on the spot, and they had been unarmed civilians." That Derens still insisted in spreading the Serbian lie that the bodies had been moved to stage a massacre betrays his profession as an historian as does his denigration of Helena Ranta, claiming that she "Does not bring clear and definitive answers to many questions which continue to rise"[2] If there is anything unclear in the conclusions of Jean-Arnauld Derens, it relates to his motives. While he claims to be helping the readers avoid the "traps" associated with Kosovo, all he offers them are the recycled lies from the

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RH2LB-n3RpI

[1] See prologue of this chapter

[2] Jean-Arnauld Derens, cited book *Le piège du Kosovo*,p. 132

Belgrade regime. The reader is invited to fall into the very trap set by the Serbian propaganda machine.

Fourteen years later, the French investigative journalist, Pierre Péan, in his book *Kosovo: a 'Just' War for a Mafia State*, dedicates a chapter to the Recak Massacre.[1]

While relying on the testimony of American reporters who were in the village the day of the Serb's attack, we also find a variety of media sources, among which is the special envoy of *Le Monde*, and the results of the forensic teams that sent to the site by the European Union. Péan echoes Jean-Arnauld Derens, saying that "The KLA had probably devised a role-play by displacing the corpses, thus making people think that the victims had been executed, not killed in combat."[2] According to Péan the effects of this massacre were immediate, "Calling the Rambouillet Conference which needed to prepare the public opinion about the NATO intervention."[3]

Following the same line, 12 years after this event, the French geographer Christian de Bongain, who in his writings is known as Xavier Raufer, a criminologist, wrote that we're dealing with, "A global campaign of the most incredible disinformation in modern history." In his article "Balkans, the Slaughter and the Deceit,"[4] he declares, "In January 1999, forty corpses killed by bullets, put one on top of another, were discovered in Reçak, Kosovo." There was an immediate storm. The Recak Massacre gave fire to the world media, but nobody knew if the victims were civilians or KLA guerrillas killed in combat around Kosovo, and brought together to set up a show. Nobody knows if the victims were from Recak or from the surrounding area, that is, the silence rule imposes such a thing.[5]

Let us return to the journalist Michel Collon, who was mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. He has published three books dedicated

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1 Pierre Péan,Kosovo : une guerre "juste" pour un Etat mafieux, Fayard, 2013, p.77-85
2 Ibid., p.84
3 Ibid., p.85
4 Balkans, Boucherie et bidonnages, Le nouvel Economiste, 15 February 2011, http://www.lenouveleconomiste.fr/balkans-boucherie-et-bidonnages-9201/
5 Ibid.

to what he sees as disinformation,[1] and in regards to the Recak case he insists that, "Many think that the corpses were dislocated from battlefield, dressed as civilians, mutilated to give this case a very cruel character and give it media publicity so that the planned NATO attacks on Yugoslavia would be politically correct. It can be said that if this crime did not exist, NATO would have invented it, just like the wolf who invented the guilt of the lamb in the fable!"[2]

The same attitude has been repeated in his book *Monopoly*[3] *NATO and the World Invasion*.[4] In the same way that Regis Debray, in an open letter, "Letter of a Traveler to the President of the Republic"[5] reminds his readers of the position of the French General, Charles de Gaule, who remarked on, "The military and political subjugation of Western Europe by the USA."

The fact that a Belgian journalist expresses such opinions in a meeting organized by the Association of Franco-Serbian Friendship in Lyon, or that Regis Debray writes to president of France after returning from his visit to Serbia did not mean that, "For the sake of this friendship they will believe the Serbian truth about what happened in Recak." Much more influential than the "pro-Serb feelings" of Michel Collon or Regis Debray is their "anti-Americanism" and/or "anti-imperialism" that makes them line up with the official propaganda of the Milosevic's regime same alongside Christophe Châtelot, Renaud Girard, Jürgen Elsässer, Christophe Chiclet, Domenico Lasurdo, Serge Halimi, Frédéric Saillot, Xavier Raufer, Patrick Barrio, John Laughland, Jean-Arnault Dérens, Pierre Péan[6] and other authors who will be mentioned in this book.

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1 L'Esprit européen,"Michel Collon, l'anti-désinformateur" http://www.esprit-europeen.fr/perspectives_desintox_collon.html

2 Ibid.

3 Monopoly is a board game where players to occupy as much territory as possible.

4 Michel Collon,cited book, *Monopoly- l'OTAN à la conquête du monde*, p.5-55

5 Le monde, Régis Debray, "Lettre d'un voyageur au président de la République", 13 May 1999 Në: http://www.sarantakos.com/kosovo/ks20debray.html

6 For illustration, I mention other authors who share the same thoughts and cite one another reciprocally: Christophe Chiclet , Bernard Ravenel ,Kosovo: le piège, Jürgen Elsässer, La RFA dans la guerre au Kosovo, Chronique d'une Manipulation, Harmattan, 2002 (published in German language in 2000), Noam Chomsky, Le Nouvel Humanisme militaire, leçons du Kosovo, Serge Halimi, Dominique Vidal

Milosevic is widely known as the "Butcher of the Balkans."[1] Considering him to be an innocent, the lamb of La Fontaine's fables, a victim of the American wolf', is a clear indicator of the ideological blindness of anti-Americanism. There is no other way, apart from anti-Americanism, to explain the fact that one of Che Guevara's comrade-in-arms, Regis Debray, the journalists of *Le monde Diplomatique*, Serge Halimi, Dominique Vidal and Jean-Arnault Dérens share the same political position as Jean-Marie Le Pen, a representative of far-right National Front[2] and Xavier Raufer, advisor to several right-winged political parties.

Apart from polemics like *The War Against the Enemy of the Nations: American imperialism and NATO*[3] it's hard to understand how it is possible for the German left-wing journalists like Bo Adam[4] and Jürgen Elsässer, to line up in the same row with the leader of the German neo-Nazis, Udo Voigt![5]

Their addiction to the anti-Americanism as an ideology makes these authors of diametrically opposed sides join in opposing the American

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et Henri Maler ,L'opinion, ça se travaille. Les médias et les 'guerres justes': Kosovo, Afghanistan, Irak,Jean-Arnault Dérens,Le piège du Kosovo,Frédéric Saillot, Racak: De l'utilité des massacres (Tome 2), Pierre PéanKosovo: une guerre "juste" pour un Etat mafieux ..., Regis Debray ...etc

1 Mediterranee, "Serbie: Un monument pour le bourreau des Balkans Slobodan Milosevic" http://www.mediaterranee.com/0732011-serbie-un-monument-pour-le-bourreau-des-balkans-slobodan-milosevic.html#.UlMQH9LwY80

2 Jean-Arnault Dérens' portal "Le courrier des Balkans", brings parts of the interview that Le Pen gave for the Croatian newspaper "Jutarni List". In this interview Le Pen mentioned his friendship with Vojislav Šešel, Radovan Karadžić and Biljana Plavšić, the three creators of the ethnic cleansing politics and genocide in Bosnia. Le Pen's arrogance went one step too far when he called Croatia not to support ICTY. This attitude of Le Pen is understandable, since his friends are being sued for the genocide in Bosnia. At the same time, this political figure of the French and European right wing extreme claims to have had supported the Serbs in their war against NATO and Americans" (http://balkans.courriers.info/article22231.html) His full interview can be read in the webpage of "Jutarni list": http://www.jutarnji.hr/jean-marie-le-pen--svi-vi-koji-zelite-u-francusku--ne-dolazite-tu-ako-nemate-novca--vec-imamo-pet-milijuna-nezaposlenih/1095656/
Regarding Le Pen's position on NATO intervention, see also:
Déclaration de M. Jean-Marie Le Pen, président du Front national, sur l'histoire de Jeanne d'Arc, l'histoire de la construction européenne, son opposition à la constitution d'une Europe fédérale et à l'intervention de l'Otan au Kosovo, Paris le 1er mai 1999.
http://discours.vie-publique.fr/notices/003000049.html

3 Contre la violence hégémonique de l'Empire US-OTAN, L'ennemi commun des peuples: l'imperialisme des USA (Against hegemonic violence of the US-NATO Kingdom, The Common Enemy of the Nations: American Imperialism, Në: http://www.oniros.fr/contrelempire.html

4 Invited by Milosevic, as a defense witness.

5 See more: National, Social & Radical: http://club-acacia.over-blog.com/15-categorie-10951540.html

actions, even in cases when these actions aim to save a nation from a humanitarian catastrophe and a politics of genocide.

The reader has had enough arguments available to form an idea about the truth of the Recak Massacre. I hope that after this chapter, the reader will be able to judge if the Recak Case was the staging of particular story to justify the military intervention against the Milosevic regime or if the Recak Massacre was one of many tragic acts that Kosovo Albanians had to endure.

The Protagonists of the Crime

In the previous section I presented excerpts of articles from the French newspaper *Liberation* and from the anonymous journalist from the *Associated Press*, which explained why Milosevic's witnesses were vague about their sources. The articles in *Liberation* and the *Associated Press*, which are referred to by the Serbian police commander Goran Radosavljevic Guri, revealed something about the horrors and atrocities that happened under his command in spite of his intentions to cover up his crimes. These ongoing strategies of manipulation of public opinion by the Belgrade regime owe something to Joseph Goebbels, Hitler's Reich Minister of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda who said, "If you tell a lie big enough and keep repeating it, people will eventually come to believe it!"

Not only Goran Radosavljevic Guri, who was directly involved in this crime, but all those who shared the Slobodan Milosevic's official interpretation of the Recak Case, kept repeating over and over that there was no execution of civilians in this village. Here is where Goebbels' statement takes full meaning in practice.

After the withdrawal of Serbian forces from Kosovo, as an acknowledgement for his merits in the war against Kosovo Albanians, Goran Radosavljevic Guri was appointed Commander of the Training

Center in Petrovo Selo. This center was one of the most notorious training centers for the Serbian police special units. Together with his promotion, Guri may have gotten a promotion, but he could not get rid of the the traces of his crime, which followed him everywhere.

A reporter from the Serbian newspaper *Blic* asked how Guri, a close associate of Nebojsa Pavkovic, Sreten Lukic and Vladimir Lazarevic, already in the Hague for their crimes committed in Kosovo, had escaped arrest himself. Guri answered, "Lukic and Pavkovic are in the Hague because of their responsibility as unit commanders. They couldn't possibly have known who the planners of the murder were. In Kosovo I was a deputy of Sreten Lukic, and this position has spared me from the Hague."[1]

Goran Radosavljevic Guri thought that "the planners of the murders" in Kosovo were unknown, and tried to hide behind his position in the chain of command. Nevertheless, the responsibility of commanders in the commission of crimes against Albanians is a matter of debate. When we consider the question of the extent to which Guri would be spared punishment because of his position, we must consider "The case of the Bytyqi Brothers."

In addition to the continuous crimes of this Serbian police general, this case will give the reader the chance to see the unwillingness of authorities in Belgrade to bring criminals to justice. In the description of the case of the Bytyqi Brothers, I refer mainly to Serbian official sources. The indictment of the Prosecutor for War Crimes in Belgrade, the Supreme Court's decision, the War Crimes Department, and the decision by the Court of Appeal contain enough information to understand what happened in the training center of Petrovo Selo, run by Goran Radosavljevic Guri. Excerpts from these decisions follow below. According to information mentioned in the decision[2] of the Supreme

[1] Blic, "Goran Radosavljević Guri: Tači preti praznom puškom" (Thaci threatens with an empty gun), 14.04.2013
http://www.blic.rs/Vesti/Politika/377538/Goran-Radosavljevic-Guri-Taci-preti-praznom-puskom

[2] Republic of Serbia, Supreme Court, War Crimes Department, K-Po2-51/2010, Transcript of acquittance,

Court of Serbia, War Crimes Department dated May 9, 2012 "Everything began on 26 June, 1999."[1]

On this June day three brothers named Yll Bytyqi (b. 1974) Agron Bytyqi (b. 1976) and Mehmet Bytyqi (b. 1978), American citizens of Kosovo origin, were trying to help two Roma families who were traveling to Serbia. The brothers took the family in their car, and instead of dropping them off near the border, they unwittingly crossed the administrative border of Kosovo, and thus entered Serbian territory. The brothers were held by the members of the Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs[2] at a checkpoint in Rudar and were sentenced to 15 days in jail by the Court of Kurshumlija for illegal border crossing. On June 27 they were sent to the Prokuplje District Detention Center to serve the sentence. Due to good behavior while in detention, their request for bail was accepted, and their release was expected to occur before the release date on 8 July. However, their case was reported to the highest levels in Belgrade, even to the Minister of Internal Affairs, Vlajko Stojiljkovic.[3]

One day before the Bytyqi Brothers were about to be released, general Vlastimir Djordzevic Rodja, head of Public Security Department in MIA of RS, phoned the training center in Petrovo Selo. In the absence of Goran Radosavljevic Guri, Sreten Popovic, lieutenant commander of the center, answered the call. General Djordzevic ordered Popovic to take several members of his unit and go to Prokuplje in order to arrest the Bytyqi Brothers as soon as they were released from the detention facility. They were sent to the Petrovo Selo Training Center. Under the same instructions the Bytyqi Brothers were supposed to be held until members of MIA of RS arrived to take them. The head of the Prokuplje Police Department and the detention center director of the Prokuplje District had been informed about this operation. All of them cooperated

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9 May 2012

1 Ibid., p.6

2 Hereinafter MIA of RS

3 Republic of Serbia, Supreme Court, War Crimes Department, K-P02-51/2010, Transcript of acquittance, 9 May 2012, p.6

in this, a well-organized action[1] as evidenced in the aforementioned decision.

Acting according to the orders of their superiors, Sreten Popovic, Milos Stojanovic, Aleksandar Nikolic, Dejan Stamenkovic and other members of MIA of RS arrested the three Bytyqi Brothers, and sent them to the Petrovo Selo Training Center, locked them up in a building with an iron door and on July 9, delivered them to unknown individuals of the Serbian MIA. These members of the Serbian police, who in the Bytyqi Brothers case are mentioned as NN individuals (unidentified), "Wire-cuffed the American citizens of Albanian origin, took them some 500 meters from the training center, opened fire from their weapons, and shot them in the back of the head."[2]

In response to the persistent demands of the USA, the Belgrade authorities ordered investigations to begin. The Negotin District Court was charged with this task. To shed light to this crime a team of experts from the Nish[3] Forensic Medicine Institute were commissioned under the leadership of Dr. Vujadin Otasevic.[4] In addition, the investigations were continually monitored by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, the Humanitarian Law Center, and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Two mass graves[5] were discovered close to the training center of the Serbian police special units, which was under the command of Goran Radosavljevic Guri.

The first mass grave exhumation by the investigators, named "Petrovo Selo I," was finished on June 26, 2001, and the second mass grave exhumation, known as "Petrovo Selo II," were completed on June 28, 2001.[6]

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1 Ibid., p.7

2 Republika of Serbia, Prosecution of War Crimes, Indictment, p.2 http://www.hlc-rdc.org/images/stories/pdf/sudjenje_za_ratne_zlocine/srbija/Za%20sajt-Bitici/Bitici-optuznica-23.08.2006..PDF

3 City in Serbia

4 Was also member of the team of experts of Forensic Medicine appointed to shed light on the "Recak Case"

5 They were named as Petrovo Sello I and Petrovo Selo II by the investigators, and had the dimensions of 3x3 meters, 1.5 meters deep, and 3x3 meters, 3.5 meters deep.

6 International Commission on Missing Persons, p.5

That same day, on June 28, 2001 the Serbian Government appointed Goran Radosavljevic Guri the head of the Serbian Gendarmerie. His promotion was obviously a reward for the crimes committed on Albanians in order to silence the responsibility of the commander of the Training Center in Petrovo Selo, for the two mass graves.

According to the Serbian forensic scientists who examined the two mass graves in Petrovo Selo, "In 60 cases, death was caused by gunfire wounds, nine people died from wounds caused by sharp objects, and in eight cases the cause of death remained unresolved."[1] Among the bodies buried in these graves were the three brothers: Mehmet Bytyqi (21), Agron Bytyqi (23) and Yll Bytyqi (25). It appeared that Goran Radosavljevic Guri had transformed the Training Center in Petrovo Selo into a facility of practical training on how to execute Albanians.

The exhumation of the Bytyqi brothers and others in the mass grave removed the soil intended to cover up the crimes committed by the political, military and police authorities of Belgrade. On April 11, 2002 the assembly of FRY adopted the Law on Cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia; they would investigate the cases[2]

On the day of ratification of this law, the former minister of the Internal Affairs of Serbia, Vlajko Stojiljkovic, against whom the ICTY had already filed criminal charges[3] for crimes against Kosovo Albanians, shot himself in the head in a public suicide in front of the Assembly.[4]

No matter how hopeful the decision to cooperate with the International Criminal Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia was, the practice proved that there were major obstacles in implementing the decision. These obstacles had to do with the institutional concealment of crimes.

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http://www.ic-mp.org/wp-content/uploads/2008/02/batajnica-2001-alb.pdf,

1 Ibid., p.5-6

2 Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was the official name at the time.

3 The indictment of 27 May 1999

4 B92, "Vlajko Stojiljković pucao sebi u glavu" (Vlajko Stojiljkovic shot himself in the head) http://www.b92.net/info/vesti/index.php?yyyy=2002&mm=04&dd=11&nav_id=58055

Five years after the discovery of the bodies of the Bytyqi Brothers, on August 23, 2006, the prosecutor for war crimes in Belgrade filed criminal charges against the Lieutenant Commander of the Training Center in Petrovo Selo, Sreten Popovic, and his associate in the Serbian police, Milos Stojanovic. They were charged with, "Crimes against prisoners of war."[1] Meanwhile, no charges were filed against the two other member of MIA of RS, Aleksandar Nikolic and Dejan Stamenkovic, although they were mentioned on page 2 of the indictment as accomplices in the abduction of the Bytyqi Brothers. Instead of facing criminal responsibility, the two were invited to be witnesses, just like Milenko Arsenijevic, Aleksandar Djordzevic, Marjan Mijatovic, Milovan Vucicevic, Milisav Vuckovic and other police offers who were involved in the crime.[2]

To conceal his involvement in this crime, on August 17, 2004 Goran Radosavljevic Guri was laid off the position of head of the Serbian Gendarmerie, and was transferred to a position of an advisor in the MIA of RS. This strategy proved futile when, in December 2006, the court for war crimes issued an arrest warrant in his name, because of his involvement in the murder of the Bytyqi Brothers.[3] Goran Radosavljevic fled.

On February 14, 2007 the pro-government newspaper of Belgrade, *Politika*, published an article entitled "Guri on the Run,"[4] where more details were given about his motives in leaving the country. The newspaper stated that Goran Radosavljevic Guri was in Lybia training Mouammar Khadhafi's Special Forces. His transfer was not unexpected, the article emphasized. Apart from being a commander of the Serbian Police Special Units during their crimes in Recak and Petrovo Selo, Goran Radosavljevic Guri was also the commander of

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1 Republic of Serbia, Prosecution of War Crimes, Indictment http://www.hlc-rdc.org/images/stories/pdf/sudjenje_za_ratne_zlocine/srbija/Za%20sajt-Bitici/Bitici-optuznica-23.08.2006..PDF

2 Suđenja za ratne zločine u Srbiji (Trials for War Crimes in Serbia) Dokumenti | 19/12/2007 http://pescanik.net/2007/12/sudenja-za-ratne-zlocine-u-srbiji/

3 Hronologija Reforme Sektora Bezbednosti u Republici Srbije (2000-2008) p. 34-35 (The reform chronology of the Sector for Public Security of Republic of Serbia 2000-2008) http://www.bezbednost.org/upload/document/hronologija.pdf

4 Politika online, 14.02.2007, "Guri u bekstvo", http://www.politika.rs/rubrike/Hronika/t19752.lt.html

the infamous paramilitary unit called "The Tigers," which was created by the famous international criminal Zheljko Raznatovic.[1] Aleksandar Vasiljevic, deputy-head of the Directorate of Security in the Yugoslav Army, confirmed this information.[2] Even though he was a commander of organizations that committed war crimes and could not claim that they were committed without his knowledge and approval, Guri was unwilling to take responsibility.

In an article regarding the war crimes-related judicial processes in Serbia, the Humanitarian Law Center in Belgrade complained about the unwillingness of the accused to discuss their crimes, and of the judicial system that was supposed to hold them accountable. In this context, the Serbian foundation declared,

> *The main characteristic of these trials is that no action is taken against those who gave the orders, or the direct executors of the crimes. There are indications that the leader of the Camp in Petrovo Selo, Goran Radosavljevic Guri, has fled the country and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Serbian Government, and the Prosecutor for War Crimes were aware of it. This occurred before the start of the trial process, though it was well known that he was a suspect for this crime.*[3]

After the trial process, which lasted five years, at the decision of the Supreme Court of Serbia, War Crimes Department, dated May 9, 2012 Sreten Popovic and Milos Stojanovic were acquitted and released. The Court of Appeal in Belgrade, War Crimes Department, on January 18, 2003 rejected the prosecutor's appeal and reaffirmed

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[1] Raznatovic committed a number of bank and jewelry robberies across Europe and escaped from prisons in the Netherlands, Belgium, and Germany. During that time, he also worked for the Serbian secret police and eventually returned to Belgrade, running a number of illegal businesses. He was charged with war crimes and genocide by the UNICT. He was assassinated in 1997.

[2] See the testimony of Aleksandar Vasiljevic in the process against Slobodan Milosevic, 13 February 2003, p. 365
http://www.hlc-rdc.org/Transkripti/Milosevic/Transkripti/Transkripti%20sa%20sudjenja%20Slobodanu%20Milosevicu%20(31)/Transkript%20sa%20sudjenja%20Slobodanu%20Milosevicu%20-%2013.%20februar%202003..pdf

[3] Suđenja za ratne zločine u Srbiji, Dokumenti | 19/12/2007
http://pescanik.net/2007/12/sudenja-za-ratne-zlocine-u-srbiji/

the decision of the Supreme Court of Belgrade, dated April 12, 2012.[1]

According to these decisions, "The Supreme Court of Belgrade has provided enough justified facts according to which everything is clear, nothing is illogical and without any contradictions to the claim that the Bytyqi brothers were not prisoners of war." What follows is a summary of the reasons for their decision.

- Because the war had ended on 9 June, 1999 when the Kumanovo Military-Technical Agreement was signed;
- Although they had been members of "The Atlantic Battalion"[2], at the moment of the detention they weren't members of any military or police unit, and were not performing any military or police tasks;
- On the day of their arrest, they were not in any armed combat mission, but their mission was definitely humanitarian and charitable;
- At the time of their arrest, they were not armed; they were not wearing any military or police uniforms;
- They were dressed in civilian clothes i.e. sweaters, shirts, pants, jeans etc. and consequently they can't be considered prisoners of war abducted by the enemy.[3]

On the other hand, it was confirmed that:

The accused, Sreten Popovic and Milos Stojanovic, could not possibly know that the NN individuals, members of the police, would kill the Bytyqi Brothers. Nobody had told them such a thing, thus they had only implemented the orders of their superiors.

Based on the expertise of the professor of forensic medicine in Nish, Dr. Vujadin Otasevic[4] , the Bytyqi brothers could have been taken to Belgrade, be killed after a considerable time, and then brought back to

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[1] Republika Serbije, Apelacioni sud u Beogradu, (Republic of Serbia, Court of Appeal, Belgrade), Kž1 Po2 5/12
http://www.hlc-rdc.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/Drugostepena-presuda1.pdf

[2] "The Atlantic Battalion" was formed by US citizens of Albanian origin, which came to fight in Kosovo and contributed in the liberation of Kosovo.

[3] Court of Appeal, Belgrade, Kž1 Po2 5/12

[4] Republic of Serbia, Supreme Court, War Crimes Department, K-Po2-51/2010, Transcript of the acquittance decision, 9 .05.2012, p.11

the mass grave in Petrovo Selo.

– They could have been killed a day, two days, three days, and five days, a month, two months or three months before they were buried here. This cannot be determined through forensic methods. It is certain, however that they were not killed near the mass grave.[1]
– Based on the expertise of this professor of forensic medicine,
– It was proved that the broken bones discovered during the autopsy of the victims were not a result of torture, and it was impossible to determine medically exactly what happened. Were they caused by the excavator, or in another way? This we can't know.[2] Things happen. You do not need to possess a lot of medical knowledge to know that a person walking in the street, slips, trips and falls on a hard surface and breaks the leg. Let alone if one is thrown off a truck or some other height, and falls into a piece of wood, or stone, or any hard object.[3]
– Dr. Vujadin Otasevic claimed all this during the judicial process against Sreten Popovic and Milos Stojanovic. Instead of a forensic expert, he became a lawyer for these two defendants.

At the end of this process, since the court could not decide when the Bytyqi Brothers had been killed, and due to the insistence of Dr Vujadin Otasevic that the Bytyqi brothers had not been executed near the mass graves, the court acquitted and released Sreten Popovic and Milos Stojanovic, as not guilty They were fully acquitted and their passports, taken earlier, were returned to them.[4]

In the decision of May 9, 2012 the Supreme Court of Belgrade, War Crimes Department, claimed that, "There remains with a very difficult task for the prosecution to find out who, why and upon whose orders

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[1] Ibid., p.11
[2] Testimony of Dr. Vujadin Otasevic in the judicial process against Sreten Popovic and Milos Stojanovic, April 13, 2007, p. 5
[3] Ibid., p.19
[4] Republic of Serbia, Supreme Court, War Crimes Department, K-P02-51/2010, Transcript of Acquittance decision, 9 .05.2012, p.11-12

were these three young men killed. We are deeply convinced that nobody, not even the three Bytyqi brothers deserve to end their lives with a bullet in their head, eyes blindfolded, hands cuffed in wire, and to be buried in a mass grave in the outskirts of Serbia."[1]

This decision was an insult to the Albanians of Kosovo. The insincere concern expressed in the Court's statement did nothing to reassure Albanians that war crimes were being taken seriously. The court's egregious act in acquitting these two mass murderers shows how deeply the mentality of seeing the "other" as an object to be annihilated was rooted in the political, military, police, judicial and media structures of the old regime.

Of all those involved in this crime, only the chief of the Department of Public Security of MIA of RS, general Vlastimir Djordzevic, was arrested[2] based on the charges raised by the ICTY for crimes committed against Kosovo Albanians. He was sentenced to 27 years in prison.

During his trial, Djordzevic said that his superior, the Minister of Internal Affairs, Vlajko Stojiljkovic, the man who committed suicide in front of the Assembly of FRY, was to blame for the murder of Bytyqi brothers.[3]

It is important to mention the fact that General Vlastimir Djordzevic admitted the charges, saying that he felt guilty for taking part in crimes against Kosovo Albanians, and apologizing to the families of the Kosovo Albanians who were killed.

Crimes were committed in Kosovo, in 1999. I did not want those crimes to occur, and if I could turn back the time I would definitely act differently. I did not have the power or the option to oppose the Minister of the Foreign Affairs (at the time), Vlajko Stojiljkovic. I did not oppose to the concealment

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[1] Ibid., p.12

[2] He was arrested on 17 June 2007

[3] RTS, " Đorđević: Izvršavao sam nalog Vlajka Stojiljkovića " (Dzordzevic: I implemented the orders of Vlajko Stojiljkovica)
http://www.rts.rs/page/stories/sr/story/135/Hronika/70187/%C4%90or%C4%91evi%C4%87%3A+Izvr%C5%A1avao+sam+nalog+Vlajka+Stojiljkovi%C4%87a.html

of the crime. I feel guilty because of this. I am deeply sorry for all the victims in Kosovo and the suffering their families have gone through. In particular, I do apologize to all the families of Kosovo Albanians, who have lost the lives of their close ones. I apologize to the displaced persons, and I share their pain.[1]

Former deputy Minister of Internal Affairs of Serbia and chief of the Department of Public Security, Vlastimir Djordzevic, admitted publicly that in Kosovo, under political orders, crimes have been committed against Kosovo Albanians and declares that he feels responsible because he could not oppose the strategy of concealing the crimes committed in Kosovo.

Whether Djordzevic was sincere in his repentance is unclear. However, another aspect of this case requires some attention: the professional ethics of the forensic doctors, those in charge of shedding light on the murders committed under the guidance of the political, military, and police structures of Serbia.

As I mentioned earlier, Dr.Vujadin Otasevic, the professor of forensic medicine at the University of Nish, tried to convince us that "The broken bones found during the autopsy on the victims from the mass graves in Petrovo Selo I and II were not a result of torture, but had been caused by the excavator or in some other way. One shouldn't have much knowledge in medicine to know that a person walking in the streets may slip and fall on something hard and break his leg."[2]

The sarcasm of Otasevic's last sentence is insulting to the court, the witnesses, and the wider audience. His insistence that the Bytyqi brothers hadn't been murdered near the mass grave was supposed to clear Sreten Popovic and Milos Stojanovic, the only two people to be charged out of the entire chain of command within the Serbian police.

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[1] Kurir, "Priznao krivicu: Vlastimir Đorđević se izvinio žrtvama na Kosovu", (Guilt admitted: Vlastimir Dzordzevic apologized to the victims of Kosovo) 13 May 2013 http://www.kurir-info.rs/priznao-krivicu-vlastimir-dordevic-se-izvinio-zrtvama-na-kosovu-clanak-787765

[2] Ibid., p.19

These young men were abducted, mistreated and executed for the sole reason that they were Americans of Albanian origin. Otasevic's attempt to protect Popovic and Stojanovic implicated him fully in these murders.

When the lawyer asked for clarification from this "expert in forensic medicine," why the bodies were wire-cuffed and blindfolded if they weren't executed right there, Dr. Vujadin Otasevic replied arrogantly, "No, I don't know. This has nothing to do with my profession!"[1] Regardless, Otasevic felt free to claim as a "professional" was that "During the exhumation it was discovered that one of the corpses was in a KLA insignia uniform, another one had a map of Kosovo, and a third one had the map of Germany in a shirt, and so on."[2] Like Dobricanin, Otasevic simultaneously declares that what the prosecutor wants to know (why a prisoner would be blindfolded and wire-cuffed unless they were marked for execution) is out of his professional expertise and that what he wants the court to believe (that one person was dressed in a KLA uniform, had a map of Kosovo, etc.) is squarely within it. If it had not been made public that on the day of their detention, the Bytyqi brothers, "Were not wearing uniforms, were not armed, nor were they in a military mission,"[3] the professor of forensic medicine at the University of Nish, Dr. Vujadin Otasevic , would have had an immediate defensive response, in much the same way as Slavisa Dobricanin in the Recak Case and Dr. Dusan Dunjic, in the Srebrenica Case.

Answering a similar question, but in another context, Radovan Karadzic, as a witness in defense of the leader of Bosnian Serbs, an the International Tribunal in Hague, Dr. Dusan Dunjic declared that,

> *In Srebrenica[4] there were only 400 people executed, whereas most of those found in the mass graves of Srebrenica were not victims of the*

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[1] The testimony of Dr. Vujadin Otasevic in the judicial process against Sreten Popovic and Milos Stojanovic, on 13 April 2007, p.10-13

[2] Ibid., p.15

[3] Facts used by the Belgrade Supreme Court to reject the thesis that they were dealing with "prisoners of war"

[4] On 13 July 1995, Serb forces in Bosnia massacred nearly 8000Muslim men and boys in Srebrenica. After World War II, this is the worst slaughter ever. The International Justice qualified it as genocide. (http://fr.euronews.com/2013/07/13/srebrenica-hommage-aux-victimes-du-13-juillet-1995)

execution of July, 1995. Many of them might have been murdered after July, 1995 or before July, 1995. Many wounds might have been caused on the corpses post mortem, thus we have no reason to consider them as victims of the same case. Moreover, only a small number of those 400 killed can be considered victims of execution. Only those who had their hands tied when exhumed can be considered as executed. Meanwhile, for those that had their eyes blindfolded one can't confirm if those ribbons were put on them, but these ribbons are symbols[1] that the victims wore in their head to be distinct, and after they were killed, those ribbons fell down to cover their eyes! "[2]

Vjudan Otasevic had been caught in an outright lie. Had it not been public that on the day of their detention on June 26, 1999, the Bytyqi brothers were not wearing uniforms, were not armed, and were on a humanitarian mission, not a military one, Dr. Vujadin Otasevic might have attempted the same kind of ineffective falsehood that Dusan Dunjic tried: "The ribbons that had fallen off the forehead over the eyes of the victims!" This is my conjecture to be sure, but it is a reasonable one, in my opinion. It is up to those who come after to judge the professional ethics of a professor of Forensic Medicine who deviates from his area of expertise to minimize war crimes and renders conclusions from an ideological perspective![3]

The pardoning of the criminals who ordered the abduction, mistreatment, and execution of the Bytyqi brothers is deplorable. Equally deplorable is the fact that no one spoke up for the other victims edhumed from the mass graves of Petrovo Selo I and II. It is disheartening to know that none of the individuals in the chain of command of this "training" center was sentenced. This was this center where the Serbian police special units used Albanian civilians as subjects for their practical

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[1] Allusion to Islamic Fighters who used to wear ribbon strips at the forehead.

[2] http://iwpr.net/sr/report-news/svedok-tvrdi-da-je-u-srebrenici-pogubljeno-samo-400-ljudi

[3] For all those who haven't seen the execution recordings made by the Serbs themselves. Viewer discretion is advised as horrible scenes are to be viewed on (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0S-UZJ67AKc) to see the mockery that this doctor makes on the tragic reality of the Serbian genocide in Srebrenica.

training in executing handcuffed and blindfolded people.

The outbreak of the revolution known as the "Arab Spring" forced Goran Radosavljevic Guri to leave Lybia and return to Serbia. Instead of being arrested, he was greeted as a hero! From his many job offers, he chose to become a member of the committee that runs the Serbian Progressive Party[1], led by the current Serbian Prime Minister, Aleksandar Vucic whose basic principle is to, "Maintain the territorial integrity of Republic of Serbia, including the Autonomous Provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina as inseparable parts."[2] This is the political party founded by the current President of Serbia, Tomislav Nikolic, who was the vice president of the Serbian Radical Party of Vojislav Seselj[3].

Guri might have thought he was unassailable, but even as a member of the committee that runs this governmental party in Serbia, Goran Radosavljevic Guri couldn't avoid journalist's questions about the Recak Case. Still, he was quick to defend himself.

In an interview for the newspaper *Blic* of April 14, 2013 he declared that,

> *The action in Recak was one of the best actions undertaken in Kosovo, which has also been included as an example in the training manuals of the American Special Forces! Recak is removed from the charges against police and military generals and this means that NATO has confirmed that there was no massacre. They only had to find a pretext for the bombing. Recak was hatched as the last action shortly before the bombing. If it weren't for Recak, they would have found something else. Even judicial experts of forensic medicine, and colleagues from the Associated Press and the French Liberation provided information according to which The Hague Tribunal decided to drop the charges of Recak![4]*

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[1] Serbian Progressive Party, Central Committee

[2] Statut Srpske Napredne Stranke, Basic Principles, Article 2, paragraph 1. http://www.sns.org.rs/lat/o-nama/statut-sns

[3] Vojislav Sesel has been arrested since 2003, awaiting punishment on war crimes. On 7 March 2012 the Hague Tribunal demanded a sentence of 28 years in prison.

[4] Blic, cited article, " Taći preti..."

Clearly Guri has taken a leaf from the boast of the Reich's Minister of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda during the Nazi regime who said, "If you tell a lie big enough and keep repeating it, people will eventually come to believe it!" In the first chapter of this book, when I addressed the Klecka Case, I brought before the readers the fact that among the journalists accused of media manipulation in promoting crime, spreading inter-ethnic and inter-religious hatred and promoting discrimination and hostilities, the Association of Independent Journalists of Serbia was the reporter on military issues for Serbian Radio Television, Milovan Drecun.[1]

At the same time, for his role in spreading the disinformation from Belgrade as "the truth" about the Recak Case, Milovan Drecun and the camera operator of the Serbian Radio Television, Tomislav Magoci, were decorated by General Colonel Nebojsa Pavkovic, commander of the Yugoslav Third Army on April 27, 1999, the only journalists to be so honored. [2]

The following is a brief biography of Nebojsa Pavkovic in order to put this decoration in perspective. Nebojsa Pavkovic was wanted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia for four offenses committed during the war in Kosovo: mass deportations, forced displacement, murder, and persecution. On April 25, 2005, he surrendered to the international authorities to face justice. On February, 2009 the Serbian General Colonel, Nebojsa Pavkovic was sentenced to 22 years in prison.

The indictment of Milovan Drecun by the Association of Independent Journalists of Serbia, had no affect whatsoever on his political career. After being a long-term activist within the Milosevic's party, in June, 2011 he joined the Serbian Progressive Party,[3] just like Goran Radosavljevic

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[1] Vreme, indictment cited by the Association of Independent Journalists of Serbia http://www.vreme.com/cms/view.php?id=875112&print=yes

[2] Glas Javnosti, "General-pukovnik Nebojša Pavković uručio, Odlikovanja u Trećoj armiji" (General Colonel Nebojša Pavković decoration awarded in Third Army) http://arhiva.glas-javnosti.rs/arhiva/1999/04/28/glavne-vesti.html

[3] RTS, "Milovan Drecun u SNS-u" (Milovan Drecun in SNS) http://www.rts.rs/page/stories/sr/story/9/Politika/922260/Milovan+Drecun+u+SNS-u+.html

Guri. As a member of this political force, during the 2012 elections, he became a member of the National Assembly in the Republic of Serbia and was appointed head of the Parliamentary Commission of Serbia for Kosovo.[1]

Instead of being punished for their involvement in war crimes, Guri and Drecun earned promotions and advancement in their political careers with the Serbian Progressive Party!

[1] Narodna Skupština Republike Serbije
http://www.parlament.gov.rs/MILOVAN_DRECUN+.619.891.html

EPILOGUE TO CHAPTER THREE

"Upon agreement between the governing coalition's three parties of Serbia[1] a decision was reached to work in preparing political elections in Kosovo. Each party had one or two representatives on the negotiation teams. I was representing the New Democracy," said Ratomir Tanic, advisor to the President of New Democracy Dusan Mihajlovic.

Despite the fact that he openly declared his "Very negative attitude towards Albanians because they represented a particular problem for the national interests of Serbia."[2] The evidence presented by Ratomir Tanic clarifies some aspects of the situation in Kosovo which may be unfamiliar to some readers.

The text below includes a brief summary of his testimony in the trial against Milosevic,[3] a brief summary of an interview given to Radio Free Europe,[4] and an exclusive interview for the Serbian newspaper Vreme.[5]

In order to prevent an armed conflict, from 1994 until 1997, we tried to find a global political solution for Kosovo. Besides delegations of Serbia and Kosovo, these negotiations also had participants and representatives from the countries of the Contact Group for Yugoslavia and influential non-governmental organizations in their countries' diplomacy.

During these talks, the representatives of the international community had opposed to any idea of secession of Kosovo and its independence. When the Albanian representatives saw that the international community would not support the secession of Kosovo they, in a silent way, gave up this objective. Hence, they found a consolation formula that the Kosovo independence will remain a long term goal, which would come to happen

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1 Socialist Party of Serbia, The Yugoslav United Left and the New Democracy

2 Process against Milosevic, testimony of Ratomir Tanic, cited session of 16 May 2002, p. 755

3 Process against Milosevic, testimony of Ratomir Tanic, sessions of 15-16 May 2002

4 Radio Free Europe: "Oui, il existait un plan de nettoyage ethnique du Kosovo", 7 March 2001 https://docs.google.com/document/d/1lBGqdCw5E9tFjZlQpn96ohv7UlnKXl3DNkCOECzEV2M/edit?pli=1

5 Miloš Vasiæ, "Privatni nihilizam i ideološke fikcije", http://www.vreme.com/cms/view.php?id=323038

if all parties agreed. This meant that something like that could be achieved only if Belgrade and the international community agreed. So, practically never.

However, the end of the war in Bosnia, and the signing of Dayton Agreement[1] created a relative peace in the country. This short period of time was sufficient to see that the Milosevic's days were numbered. The manipulation of the election results in 1996 provoked a huge revolt of the opposition, in December the same year. His aims to suppress the revolt didn't find any support, both from the Yugoslav Army General, Momcilo Perisic, or the Belgrade mayor, Nebojsa Covic. Therefore, Milosevic destroyed the outcome of the work achieved during negotiations because he needed the war to maintain his position as the rescuer of Serbia!

To isolate terrorism is a completely different matter from killing women and children, as it is completely different to expel a whole nation. Our security forces did not wage any war against terrorists. They fought against the civilian population. Thus began the ethnic conflict in March, 1998. Instead of arresting Jashari brothers and others, our troops attacked their residences and thus massacred women, children and other family members. Instead of restricting military operations to those particular targets, their neighbors were attacked as well. Of course, this provoked a large revolt among the Albanian population, just like it would provoke revolt for any nation in the world. Milosevic knew that this would provoke an uprising of the Albanian population, yet he did it so he could have a justification that we had to deal with a revolution! Milosevic and Sainovic[2] operated in such a way that the "war on terror" would turn out to be a war against Albanian villagers and civilians. By doing so, they would expel these people from Kosovo, confiscate their documents and wipe out the evidence of their citizenship. If they were going to request to return to Kosovo later, we would claim they're Albanians from Albania,

[1] Signed on 14 December 1995

[2] Nikola Sainovic, former president of Republic of Serbia and Vice President of the Federal Government of Yugoslavia. On 26 February 2009, ICTY sentenced him to 22 years in prison, for war crimes against Kosovo Albanians.

not from Kosovo.

The agreement between Milosevic and Holbrooke signed on October 13, 1998 included most of the results from the negotiations with the Albanian representatives during that period. But Milosevic did not respect anything. The signing of this agreement was only a tactical maneuver to buy time.

The Conference in Rambouillet was a hopeless attempt of the Western diplomacies to save what could be saved.

Milutinovic[1] and Milosevic deceived the public opinion to make them believe that the foreign troops would enter Kosovo under NATO flag, not that of UN. This is completely untrue. Before the bombings, the international community agreed that the peacekeeping forces were under UN mandate, and the Yugoslav Army Corps of Prishtina would remain in Kosovo, to maintain order in cooperation with the UN troops. But, Milosevic needed a war! The war was ideal for him, as a 'proof' to support his fabricated thesis. The Belgrade regime wanted a war with NATO, but within controllable limits, not something which would bring too much bombing. Furthermore, however paradoxical it may seem, Belgrade wished for just 'a little bombing'! Bombardments of a small scale were convenient, because they would serve as a good pretext to continue expelling Albanians and, at the same time, weaken the Serbian opposition. In circumstances of war, no one asks for anything. I was required to tell my party chairman to return to the coalition, and not to oppose the creation of artificial circumstances of war. Long story short, the reason why Milosevic did not accept to sing the Rambouillet Agreement was that he wanted a war with NATO.[2]

But the violence and the ethnical cleansing of Albanians by Milosevic strengthened the KLA, induced massive uprising of Albanians and, in the end, a huge conflict with the international community."[3]

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[1] Milan Milutinovic, President of Republic of Serbia

[2] Process against Milosevis, testimony of Ratomir Tanic, cited session of 14 May 2002, p. 718-719

[3] Ibid.

Beyond political and ideological differences that the readers of this book may have I hope that to some extent this chapter provides information about whether the NATO military intervention against Serbia was the result of an "American conspiracy based on misinformation" or whether it happened "to halt the violence against Albanians and the ethnic cleansing of Kosovo." The next chapter deals with some of the events in Kosovo and its environs that will enable us to see this issue in the context of a regional and international dynamics, and I hope that through this discussion, things will be much clearer.

CHAPTER FOUR

PROLOGUE TO CHAPTER FOUR

All the ethnic groups in Kosovo lived equally, the Serbs, Albanians, Turks, Muslims, Gorani, Roma, and Egyptians. In our dealings with enraged terrorists in Kosovo who kidnapped civilians, killed innocent people, raped, burned people in limestone kilns, killed children with the most barbaric forms of violence, our state institutions reacted in accordance with the Yugoslav Constitution and the best practices or identical experiences of European countries. Unfortunately, the Western governments treated our responses as acts of violence towards the Albanian minority in Kosovo. Consequently, this served as an excuse for the international community to intervene in defending the innocent population. So it happened. NATO attacked my country! No humanitarian disaster or deportation of Albanians has ever occurred in Kosovo. Both were triggered by the NATO bombings. The NATO bombings killed Serbs, Montenegrin, Roma, Turks, Muslims, etc. However, more than half of those killed were Albanians, whom NATO wanted to save from the humanitarian disaster. Besides the aggression aimed at subduing my country, this war happened also due to the personal hatred they had towards me, because I was an obstacle for the expansion of their influence in this part of the Balkans. This hatred is expressed even through media attacks on my family. My wife, a university professor, my daughter, who has never been involved in politics, my son, who is a very kind person; they are all object of the most horrific media campaign. Such dishonesty and such cannibalism have never been seen in Europe. No matter how much you hate an enemy, attacking their wives or children has been considered by the whole world as dishonest practice and cowardice.

The aggression against Yugoslavia is in complete contradiction with the international law and the basic principles of the United Nations Charter;

it is a violation of the NATO statute and disrespect to the Constitutions of many of its member states!"

Slobodan Milosevic[1]

The Serbian secret services compiled a summary of propaganda materials[2] from the Belgrade regime, entitled The White Book on Albanian Terrorism, which was published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia, and subsequently by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Serbia. First, the Yugoslav, and then the Serbian diplomatic missions distributed these materials for free to political, media and intellectual circles in many countries around the world.[3]

The summary above, from the words of Slobodan Milosevic, highlights only a few pillars of this propaganda. In this chapter we will discuss the extent of this propaganda's reach and the extent to which the Belgrade regime was able to present as reality what was in fact the Serbian version of what happened in Kosovo.

The Desire for "Modest Bombing"

In the previous chapter I discussed the dynamics that swept the International Conference for Kosovo. As we saw, after March 15, 1999, the date that the agreement by Kosovo representatives was signed, Western diplomacy made great efforts to make this conference a success. However, these diplomatic efforts did not rule out more cynical predictions of the eventual failure of these talks. If a NATO military intervention were to occur, there was a particular concern for the safety of diplomatic personnel who remained in the embassies

[1] Foundation for Humanitarian Right, Belgrade, Serbia
Transcripts of session in 2002: 14, 15 and 18 February; 13, 14 and 15 March; 18 and 19 April and of 14 June 2002
http://www.hlc-rdc.org/Transkripti/Milosevic/_Milosevic.html

[2] These books and especially their impact are object of analysis in the second part of this book.

[3] Milosevic borrowed a strategy from US advertising and public relations. US companies distribute a "press kit," a content-dense document designed to make the company look good to journalists in the hope that they are too lazy or hurried to do their own research and will use the biased source instead. Good journalists ignore press kits.

A Western military hostage

of NATO member states in Belgrade and for the members of the Kosovo Verification Mission on the ground. To prevent a recurrence of unfortunate events from the war in Bosnia, embassy personnel from NATO countries left the country on March 19, and the remaining 1400 members of the OSCE Kosovo Verification Mission[1] left the next day.

What follows is a discussion of the source of the Western countries' concerns about the danger threatening their personnel.

In November 1994, when NATO began air strikes against the positions of Serbian paramilitary units in Bosnia, in order to force them to respect areas declared as "security zones" by the United Nations, the Serbs captured 500 hostages, soldiers who were under the UN Security Council mandate in several locations throughout Bosnia.

The same scenario was repeated in May 1995 when 21 French Blue Helmets and 13 UN observers were taken hostage, while 150 more were trapped in nine weapons collection sites.[2] These hostages were handcuffed and moved to strategic positions that were possible targets of NATO strikes. By forming a human shield comprised of UN mandated soldiers and members of NATO countries, the Serbs proved they would choose whatever means necessary to justify their goals.

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[1] Libération, Hélène Despic-Popovic, "Escalade des menaces sur Belgrade. Les vérificateurs de l'OSCE sont évacués du Kosovo.", 20 March 1999
http://www.liberation.fr/monde/1999/03/20/escalade-des-menaces-sur-belgrade-les-verificateurs-de-l-osce-sont-evacues-du-kosovo_268049

[2] The data derived from the following article
Libération, "Les Serbes prennent l'ONU en otage pour faire cesser les raids "(Serbs take hostage the UN to force cessation of air strikes), 27 May 1995
http://www.liberation.fr/evenement/1995/05/27/les-serbes-prennent-l-onu-en-otage-pour-faire-cesser-les-raids_132202

Although the withdrawal of diplomatic personnel and members of the OSCE Verification Mission was done to prevent them from being taken as hostages, this action also sent a message that bombings might begin soon. On March 22, 1999, the American Ambassador Richard Holbrooke made a last attempt to convince Slobodan Milosevic to accept the Agreement proposed by the Contact Group, and once again this attempt failed.

A Western soldier tied to a pole, near a bridge

The following day, on March 23, 1999, the Secretary General of NATO, Javier Solana, said,

> *After the failure of 'the last chance mission' of Richard Holbrooke in Belgrade, I have authorized General Wesley Clark to launch air strike operations against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. All efforts that were put in place to achieve a political solution for the crisis in Kosovo through negotiations have failed. There is no other choice but the use of military action. We need to put a stop to an authoritarian regime in Europe from oppressing its people at the end of the 20th century. For us, this is a moral imperative.*[1]

Despite the clear message that air strikes were about to begin, the Serbian media repeatedly broadcast Milosevic's position as, "We won't give up Kosovo, even at the price of a bombing!" This became a mobilizing slogan all over Serbia. In the epilogue of Chapter Three I presented some of the testimony by Ratomir Tanic, which allows us to examine the motive behind Milosevic's fiery rhetoric. Was it intended to persuade

[1] Cited research by Denis Huber Le Conseil de l'Europe... https://wcd.coe.int/ViewDoc.jsp?id=123029

NATO member states to step back from their decision to attack because Serbia was willing to fight in to keep Kosovo, or was Serbia's intransigent rejection of the political agreement and the continuation of the violence in Kosovo by the Belgrade regime intended to provoke the bombings?

Tanic's testimony sheds light on why the Belgrade regime wanted a war with NATO. They hoped the war would be limited to small-scale bombings, sufficient for Serbia to justify the total expulsion of Albanians from Kosovo.

NATO air strikes in Bosnia, which were limited and fairly light, would be a benchmark for how this war would be conducted, or so thought the rulers in Belgrade. Unlike the war in Bosnia, where the Security Council authorized attacks, there was no clear mandate for NATO to move in Kosovo.

Milosevic and the Belgrade authorities hoped that attacks carried out without prior approval by the Security Council would bring a firestorm of international pressure to force NATO to stop the strikes.

True to their predictions, the public position of power brokers from the Russian Federation was unequivocal and widely disseminated. The Russian media kept rolling stories like "The Russian Duma Supports Serbia and Yugoslavia"; "Prime Minister Yevgeny Primakov Describes the Use of Force as Absolutely Unacceptable"; "General Ivashov Warns that Aggression Against Yugoslavia Would give Russia a Moral Right to help Yugoslavia in Every Aspect"; "Minister of Defense, Marshall Igor Sergeyev, Warns that the Attacks on Yugoslavia might bring a 'New Vietnam' in Europe" were typical examples. These messages and their like reassured key people in the Milosevic regime that repercussions of a NATO attack on Yugoslavia without prior approval of the Security Council would bring about a quick end to the conflict. Similar positions were expressed by China, (a permanent member of the Security Council) and a number of other UN member countries. All these elements encouraged Milosevic to categorically reject the Agreement proposed by the Contact Group.

Given the fact that the Agreement had been previously signed by the Albanian delegation, Belgrade's refusal to sign put the responsibility for the failure of international efforts to find a political solution squarely at Milosevic's feet. Because of this, on March 24, 1999, the North Atlantic Alliance launched air strikes on military and police targets in Yugoslavia.

Human Rights and National Sovereignty

NATO's intervention in Yugoslavia revealed significant differences in the interpretation of international law. The principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of a country, even when a state does not respect the rights of its citizens, is fundamental to international law. How should the nations of the world act in such situations? In a case where there are serious violations of the human rights, is it legal for outsiders to use military intervention in a sovereign state? The deciding factor lies with the foundation of international law.

It has not been clearly specified in the law that human rights take precedence over the principle of non-intervention. Even so, human rights are also at the very foundation of international law. State sovereignty and non-intervention in a state's internal affairs are "principles" which are meant to ensure the welfare and the implementation of human rights. In cases when a nation commits serious violations of human rights, the principles of sovereignty and non-intervention are secondary.

Despite the fact that NATO's military intervention against Milosevic's forces has often been described as a "moral intervention to avoid the immediate risk of a humanitarian catastrophe in Kosovo" and to "prevent the realization of the regime's ethnic cleansing project" in the country, one should not forget that the legitimacy of this intervention lies in international law regarding the rights of a sovereign nation and fundamental human rights.

In the period preceding the NATO attacks, the policy of violence pursued by the Belgrade regime in Kosovo had increased dramatically. In

September 1998, the UN Security Council warned UN member countries about the potential risk of a humanitarian catastrophe. Although their figures were much smaller than those published by various organizations for the protection of human rights, resolution 1199[1] mentions that as a result of the violence by the Serbian armed forces, 230,000 people were displaced and some 50,000 Kosovo Albanians were left homeless. The rights of Albanians were violated in the most flagrant manner by the Milosevic regime. This is not a subjective perception of the reality, but a conclusion recorded in resolutions 1160, 1199, 1203 and 1207 of the UN Security Council.

Under international law, the United Nations Security Council is the only competent institution to judge which situations which may be evaluated as a "threat to peace and security and to recommend measures to overcome them."[2]

In the case of Kosovo, it was not just the risk of a humanitarian catastrophe that alarmed the UN, the Security Council also considered the violence by the Yugoslav armed forces to be a threat to security and peace in the region. Because of this, resolutions 1166, 1199, 1203 and 1207 of 1998 were adopted in accordance with Chapter VII[3]- of the UN Charter.[4]

Based on Chapter VII, which is dedicated to international peace and security, the Security Council recommended a halt to any form of violence in Kosovo, that the ceasefire be respected, that the return of refugees be facilitated, and that a genuine dialogue to find a peaceful solution to the Kosovo issue be started.[5] These resolutions emphasized the readiness of the Contact Group[6] to facilitate the dialogue. It is important at this juncture to remember that the United Nations charter authorizes the

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1 United Nations, Security Council, S/RES/1199 (1998), 23 September 1998
2 Charter of the United Nations, Chapter VII, article 39-42
3 Related to international peace and security.
4 Find out more about the resoutions at: http://www.un.org/fr/sc/documents/resolutions/
5 The resolution mentions extended autonomy and real administrative autonomy for Kosovo.
6 Russian Federation, France, Germany, United Kingdom, Italy and USA,

Security Council to undertake other measures if its members find that the statutory measures do not yield the expected results. Article 42 of this charter specifies, "For the preservation or restoration of the world peace and international security, infantry, air force and navy can be used."

In accordance with this article of chapter VII, through paragraph 19 of resolution 1160 and paragraph 16 of Resolution 1199, the UN Security Council warned that in the absence of substantial progress in Kosovo, additional measures would be considered to maintain or restore peace and stability in the region.[1]

Although the modalities of the "additional measures" were not specified in resolutions 1160 and 1199, chapter VII of the charter specified that this meant the use of military force.

As I mentioned in the previous chapter, on January 30, 1999, the NATO Council had come to the same conclusion, "The crisis in Kosovo threatens the peace and security in the region." That same day it was agreed that in the case of sabotage to the UN's peace process, the party that acted in bad faith would bear the consequences. According to eventual developments on the ground, the NATO Council agreed that the Secretary General would authorize air strikes against targets in the territory of Yugoslavia if Belgrade failed to comply, whereas if the Albanian side undermined the process, NATO would undertake appropriate measures against them.[2]

Despite the fact that detailed analysis proves clearly that NATO's military intervention was in accordance with international law, there were many who relied on the criteria of traditional legal analysis, and absent a clear decision by the Security Council to authorize air strikes against Yugoslavia, claimed that this intervention was not legitimate.

Reactions against the NATO air strikes were immediate. NATO

[1] S/RES/1160 (1998), 31 March 1998 and S/RES/1199 (1998), 23 September 1998

[2] Déclaration du Conseil de l'Atlantique Nord sur le Kosovo, Communiqué de Presse (99) 012, 30 January 1999
http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/1999/p99-012f.htm

member states, participants in this operation, justified their action with the necessity of military intervention to restore human rights and to prevent ethnic cleansing in Kosovo. The decision to conduct air strikes was supported by a number of Balkan states, such as Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, Albania, etc. They insisted that this decision was in accordance with the resolutions of the UN Security Council and chapter VII of the UN Charter.

On the other hand, the Milosevic regime described NATO attacks as, "aggression in violation of the international law and fundamental principles of the charter of the United Nations." The Russian Federation, China, India, the Rio Group[1], Group 77,[2] and a number of states emerging from the fall of the Soviet Union openly expressed their disapproval and demanded that the attacks on Yugoslavia cease immediately.[3]

Political and media circles in Western Europe also mobilized against American imperialism and NATO. An example was the petition entitled, "Europeans Want Peace."[4]

According to those who signed this petition, "the Wednesday of March 24th will be marked as a disaster in our history: for the first time since 1945, a sovereign state was bombed by a military alliance under American command. This represents a complete disregard of the rules of the international law and flagrant violation of the UN Charter. NATO aggression is unacceptable."[5]pThose who on one hand claim to be against war, against aggression and against violence did not comment on the aggression of Serbia against the Albanian population of Kosovo; they remained completely silent about the violence of the Milosevic regime against Kosovo's Albanians.[6] The murder and rape of Albanians and the ethnic cleansing in Kosovo were ignored.

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1 Organization of several Latin American countries, established in 1986 to facilitate joint cooperation.

2 Group established in 1964 by 77 states within the UN. This group currently counts some 132 countries, and most of them recognize the independence of Kosovo.

3 A summary of the views of states and international organizations regarding this issue can be found in: http://iusadbellum.files.wordpress.com/2011/07/kosovo-1999.pdf

4 Petition organized by Collectif français Non à la gurre (French Collectiv No War!) http://www.doorbraak.eu/gebladerte/30159v01.htm

5 Jean Jacob, *Le retour de l'ordre nouveau,* Librairie Droz, Genève, 2000, p.270

6 Ibid.

Leftist Europeans such as Max Gallo and Gisèle Halimi, Bruno Etienne and Yves Vargas, together with prominent figures of the New Right, as well as idiosyncratic writers such as Alain de Bonoist, Guillaume Faye and others, had a primary objective: "A Europe entirely independent of the United States of America." They also proposed a Europe free from NATO, which is "nothing else other than an instrument of American imperialism and hegemony."[1] These writers all remained silent during this critical time except "To urge Europeans to express rejection of the American war in Europe, and to express solidarity with the civilian population that was being bombed."[2]

As we shall see later in this chapter, "anti-Americanism" worked as an ideological frame, and gathered people like Serge Halimi, Bernard Lugan, Dominique Vidal, Dominique Venner, Gisèle Halimi, Regis Debray, Jean Marie Le Pen, Max Gallo, Bruno Mégret, Jean-Arnault Dérens, Xavier Raufer, Andrea Grosse, Peirre Péan, Philippe Conrad, Jürgen Elsässer, Udo Voigt, Michel Collon, Hervé Van Laethem and a considerable number of others of different intellectual and political perspectives in a united front to "defend Europe from American imperialism."

Moreover, the launch of air strikes did not maintain the neutral status of politicians in Switzerland, known to be a "neutral state." Jean Marie Lepen's counterpart in this state, Christophe Blocher, in his interview for the newspaper *Sonntags Zeitung* described bombings against Serbia as "a disaster." He continued, "NATO is waging a war as if it were a video game. NATO is a synonym of the USA. I would never believe that the USA would be so naive as to enter a war after Vietnam."[3] Meanwhile, a member of the Swiss Democratic Radical Party, Dick Marty, along with 19 members of the Swiss parliament, recommended to the Swiss Federal

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[1] VOXNR, "Guillaume Faye sur le grill" http://www.voxnr.com/cc/d_entretiens/EpFkFlAyylFfNPrnDB.shtml

[2] Ibid.

[3] Blocher.ch, „Interview dans SonntagsZeitung, April 4, 1999" http://www.blocher.ch/artikel/l-aide-humanitaire-c-est-non-armee-qu-il-faut-l-apporter.html

Council "measures aimed at ending the war in Kosovo."[1]

These recommendations asked the highest governing institution of the country to do whatever was possible to achieve "a ceasefire among parties, to settle a neutral peacekeeping troop and to prepare the ground for political solutions."[2]

Dick Marty, a politician who never raised his voice to demand a stop to the Serbian military and police campaign in Kosovo in which of thousands of people were murdered, and hundreds of thousands of Albanians expelled from their homes,[3] was now shouting from the rooftops demanding a stop to the bombing of Serbian military and police targets.

Dick Marty, who never acknowledged that the OSCE verification mission in Kosovo was a mission of unarmed members whose supervision of the ceasefire of October 13, 1998 failed because of the policies of the Belgrade regime, demanded a ceasefire and deployment of "neutral troops" to make sure his proposed ceasefire was fully respected.

If we consider the fact that most Western democracies were engaged in NATO operations, then it remains unclear what countries that would contribute these "neutral troops" that were spoken of by Dick Marty. Perhaps the troops could be Russian, Belarusian, Chinese, Indian, or from some other country that condemned the NATO air strikes? If Marty left this unclear, he is very clear that "neutral troops" could not include countries that had attacked Serbia, especially not the Americans. Dick Marty believed that the armies under NATO command that bombed Serbia committed an illegal attack without UN approval.[4]

The recommendation to "prepare the ground for a political solution"

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1 L'Assamblée fédérale- le Parlament suisse
Mesures visant à mettre fin à la guerre au Kosovo 21.04.1999, Recommandation 99.3171
(Measures aimed at ending war in Kosovo, Recommendation 99.3171, deposited by Dick Marty
http://www.parlament.ch/f/suche/pages/geschaefte.aspx?gesch_id=19993171

2 Ibid.

3 A big number of them had sought refuge in Switzerland.

4 Réseau Voltaire, Dick Marty : "L'indépendance du Kosovo n'a pas été décidée à Pristina", entretien avec Silvia Cattori
http://www.voltairenet.org/article155903.html

is no different in any way from the recommendations of the Milosevic regime to "halt the aggression in order to find a political solution."[1]

Like the official propaganda out of Belgrade, Dick Marty's recommendation failed to mention the diplomatic efforts of the European Union member states and the USA to end this conflict through a political solution. He never mentioned the proposals of the Contact Croup, or the conferences in Rambouillet and in Paris, and he never mentioned that they failed because of Milosevic's complete unwillingness to negotiate. Dick Marty made his position clear, and in so doing, disabused anyone who was paying attention to his "neutrality." Dick Marty was very insistent in denouncing NATO's "illegal aggression" against Serbia without the approval of the UN. Even so, when he recommended that the Swiss Federal Council do whatever is possible to achieve "truce between parties, the deployment of neutral peacekeeping troops, and to prepare the ground for a political solution," Dick Marty failed to mention the role of the UN. According to this logic, if NATO bypassed the UN Security Council to bomb military targets in Serbia, that was illegal. But if the Swiss government bypassed the UN in calling for the cessation of bombings against the Milosevic regime, that was perfectly legal. The French writer and philosopher, Regis Debray expressed an identical position against NATO airstrikes on Yugoslavia.

In an article entitled "A Letter of a Traveler to the President of the Republic,"[2] *Debray asked the President of France, Jacques Chirac, to review the participation of France in the "unjust" war against Yugoslavia, because this was a form of "political and military subjugation of Western Europe to the USA."*[3]

To support his position that the war against Yugoslavia was the result of American manipulation, Regis Debray presented the statements of what he claimed were Serbian opponents of the regime who alleged that,

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[1] Position cited in the previous chapter

[2] Le monde, Régis Debray, "Lettre d'un voyageur au président de la République", 13 May 1999. All the following quotations are taken from this letter.

[3] All the below quotations of Regis Debray are taken from this letter

"Mr. Milosevic was not a dictator because he was elected three times, whereas dictators get elected once. He respects the Yugoslav Constitution and the fact that Yugoslavia is not a one-party state. There are no political prisoners in this country. Milosevic is tolerant and we could criticize him from the public terrace of a café without having to hide,"[1] and so on.

Regis Debray expected us not to consider him biased in this conflict, as he was "relying on facts." When he visited the region, he stayed in Serbia, Kosovo, and Macedonia, and "to avoid the possibility of being manipulated by translators who favored the KLA in Macedonia and Albania,"[2] Debray "asked the Serbian authorities for his interpreter, his car and the opportunity to go and talk to those he wanted to. The Serb authority respected this agreement,"[3] he claimed.

Debray failed to name either the interpreter or the source of the vehicle to visit the places "he wanted." Nevertheless, Regis Debray insisted he should not be seen as biased. He contended that the facts he brought to the public through his letter ostensibly addressed to the president of France, are based on what two "Western witnesses" told him. The first witness was "Aleksandar Mitic, who happened to be of Serbian origin, but was an AFP (Agence France-Presse) correspondent and a pro-Western individual,"[4] Debray insists. The second witness was the Anglophone Canadian Paul Waston, a correspondent of the *Los Angeles Times* for Central Europe. According to Regis Debray, "As to this journalist, one can say he was very anti-Serbian, he had followed the civil war in Kosovo and knew every village, every street. When on the first day of bombings, foreign journalists were expelled from Prishtina, he went into hiding, remained anonymous, and continued to move around."[5]

So, because the sources of information are a "pro-Western Serbian" and an "anti-Serbian Western," Regis Debray wanted to us to believe that

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[1] Le monde, Régis Debray, cited article "Lettre ..."
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.

this combination supplied him with "objective information." An anti-Serbian Canadian journalist, who had been in hiding during the war in Kosovo without the permission of the Milosevic regime and a pro-Western Serbian journalist working for an international news service, encountered Debray "accidentally" and informed him "objectively" of the truth of events in Kosovo. This seems like a scenario worthy of a new episode of *Mission Impossible*. Or, perhaps not: *Mission Impossible* is an American program, and Regis Debray doesn't like the "products of American imperialism."

In attempting to assert his credibility and that of his sources, Debray insisted that the Belgrade regime "respected" the agreement to let this French intellectual move around freely and "talk to whomever he wanted." An appropriate analogy for Debray's relationship with the Belgrade regime is the famous French film *Le Dîner de Cons*,[1] remade in the US as *Dinner for Schmucks,* starring Steve Carrell.

According to the script of this film, a famous Parisian publisher (Pierre Brochant) organizes a "Dinner of Fools" every Wednesday, where one of the friends would invite a "fool" whom he had met by chance to be the subject of ridicule during the dinner. The guest does not know the game that is being played on him; instead, he believes that the host respects "the invitation agreement (contract)." Using the Russian Secret Service (CHEKA) as a model, on May 13, 1944 the Yugoslav Communist Party established the Secret Service called OZNA (Odseka za Zaštitu Naroda – The Department of National Security). During its existence, this service changed names many times in different historical contexts, in order to leave behind its criminal reputation. Despite the name changes, one thing remained constant. On May 13 of each year, the Yugoslav Secret Service celebrated its anniversary of its founding. Traditionally, the night before this anniversary, they would serve dinner for their guests. 1999 was the year of air strikes against the repressive

[1] According to Larousse, the word "con" means fool, imbecile, idiot. I am translating the title as "Dinner of Fools" for reasons that will follow below.

apparatus of the Belgrade regime. May 13, 1999 was Thursday.

Only Regis Debray can say whether the Serbian Secret Service invited him to the dinner on Wednesday of May 12th, but from what we can see of his letter of May 13th, it seems clear that had he been a guest at this dinner, he would have played the Steve Carrell part.[1] The issues covered in this public letter will be discussed below; from this I hope that the reader will be able to see if Regis Debray was biased or neutral regarding the war in Kosovo. The publication of Debray's letter of May 13, 1999, sparked reactions among many French intellectuals. These reactions were an indicator of the extent to which the political, media, and intellectual domains were mobilized around this war. An illustration of the conflict of ideas and positions is an instance when two newspapers from the same media organization published diametrically opposed positions about NATO's military intervention. The newspapers were the daily *Le Monde* and the monthly *Le Monde Diplomatique*.

The French political scientist and journalist Serge Halimi,[2] in an exclusive interview for *Syndikat*[3] magazine, explains that these two newspapers

> *belong to the same publishing company, but with independent and unrelated newsrooms. So, ten years ago, Le Monde was pro-war in the Persian Gulf, whereas Le Monde Diplomatique was against it. The same happened with the war in Kosovo. Le Monde supported this war, whereas Le Monde Diplomatique was against it. There are very few operations by the Western countries which are led by Americans and opposed by Le Monde, and at the same time there are very few operations by the Western countries and led by Americans which were supported by Le Monde Diplomatique. This analysis of differences between the two*

[1] The role of a naïve. I hope the allusion is clear, at least for the readers who have seen the abovementioned film, either the French or the American version.

[2] Political scientist, member of editorial staff of the monthly *Le Monde Diplomatique* since 1992 and editor in chief since 2008.

[3] Serge Halimi, "Entretien avec la revue Syndikat", October 2000 in: http://www.homme-moderne.org/societe/media/halimi/opinion/syndikat.html

publications has become a common occurrence.[1]

This case proves the extent to which the positions published in a newspaper are related to the individual positions of the members of a particular editorial staff member. To put it briefly, the objective reality should be included in the ideological framework of the editorial staff, and in accordance with this framework, "their reality" should reflect "the only" reality. In particular, these publications should acknowledge their political leanings to that the readers can form their own opinions instead of relying exclusively on "newspaper analysis," It is obvious that the ideological framework of a newspaper determines

> *its presentation of a war. As a socialist web site put it, "In order to decide if a war is progressive or reactionary, we are required not to limit ourselves within the instant atrocities, which are present in any war, but an analysis should be done to find out who's behind it, what the goals are and what is the international role of the states that participate in a war.*[2]

This perspective on how one ought to interpret a war suggested that because the United States is involved in the NATO attacks, reports of any immediate atrocities such as the murder of Albanian civilians, the burning of villages in Kosovo, and the mass deportations of Albanians, should be treated with suspicion. Serge Halimi's opinion was that the "Kosovo crisis gave NATO the chance to settle in Europe and to put the UN under its tutelage."[3] According to him, in order to achieve such a goal, media manipulation was essential. Because of that, Halimi was against politically oriented media, against propaganda, which tends to guide people toward a particular "camp," and against media images in particular, which he calls "a factory of manipulated feelings."[4]

Briefly, in the Kosovo case, Halimi saw a media manipulation of

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[1] Ibid.
[2] World Socialist Web Site
http://www.wsws.org/francais/News/1999/mai99/24mai_ciqiotan.shtml
[3] Serge Halimi, Les médias pendant la guerre du Kosovo (The media for the war in Kosovo) (1/3)
http://www.dailymotion.com/video/x4crrr_les-medias-pendant-la-guerre-du-kos_news
[4] Ibid.

public opinion to garner support for NATO's military action whose hidden motive was the further domination of Europe by the US. Furthermore, Serge Halimi went beyond the basic assertion that public opinion had been massaged to support US interests. With "the knowledge" he possesses, he explained how such a thing could happen.

According to Halimi, those at fault in this situation are the journalists, who "do not possess the necessary background to be informed, and news outlets suffer due to the lack of specialists with a global and transverse vision of this problem."[1]

These two problems result from the "general lack of culture" among the public, which makes their continuous manipulation an easy task. To avoid this, Serge Halimi demanded a halt to the treatment of the public as if they were "a herd lobotomized by propaganda and exhausted from television images, from this factory that manipulates with emotions."[2] It followed that media messages should be seen from a different perspective, and Serge Halimi had the "key solution" — a total mistrust of "media production."

"I think that some of us should start from the postulate that the job of the media is to inform. More and more I think that we are not dealing with such a thing. When I read what the media produces I don't do it to become informed; but to get informed about the misinformation,"[3] argued Serge Halimi, former journalist and current editor of *Le Monde Diplomatique*.

According to Halimi, a competent journalist needs to "process the opinions" of the media by exposing the techniques and production values with which they produce these fabrications. The journalist must show that the traps within these inventions are so compelling that even knowledgeable readers may fall into them, let alone those who "lack general culture," or who do not have "the necessary background."

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[1] Ibid.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Serge Halimi, Les médias pendant la guerre du Kosovo (3/3) http://www.dailymotion.com/video/x4crvk_les-medias-pendant-la-guerre-du-kos_news

It is clear that when you are told that this nation here is experiencing genocide, you can't think for long. You are forced to accept it as the truth. I can imagine that a number of people among us are convinced of this. When I saw the images, I said to myself that the situation is worrying and that perhaps it should be acted upon. This, however, did not last long, because I had the political education and knowledge about the USA, which made me disbelieve that US commitments were mainly humanitarian.[1]

According to everyone with an anti-American ideological perspective from both the left and the right, it was important and decisive to have "a just" attitude towards the war in Kosovo, which could only be considered in relation to the position of the Americans in this war. Wherever the Americans were involved, things were "suspicious," and readers should be "very cautious" with our conclusions. The "political education and knowledge" possessed by Serge Halimi compel ideological rather than humanitarian vigilance. This is why the editorial staff of *Le Monde Diplomatique* did not support NATO in the war in Kosovo. The fact that the the Americans led this NATO action was the sole reason that the French political scientist and journalist, Serge Halimi, smelled a rat in the media reports of "instant atrocities in Kosovo." Still, he assured us that none of this means that he is biased in favor of Milosevic. Even in the instances when his positions are identical to those of the Belgrade regime, Halimi rejects comparisons to Milosevic, which, he contends, is a "foolish comparison, a totalitarian and Stalinist way of thinking because this is not the way to decide on the good and the evil."[2]

But when Halimi defined as "evil" any right wing or left wing political forces that lined up alongside the Americans, this should not be considered "foolish" or "a Stalinist way of thinking." Halimi claimed that, "Americans get involved in European matters and wish to become in charge of the

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[1] Serge Halimi, Les médias pendant la guerre du Kosovo (2/3), min. 14:35-15:32 http://www.dailymotion.com/video/x4crvk_les-medias-pendant-la-guerre-du-kos_news

[2] Serge Halimi, cited interview "Entretien avec la revue Syndikat"
I hope the reader now understands why I translated "Le Dîner de cons" as the Dinner of Fools.

security in Europe."[1] Thus, they are evil, and those who follow the evil ones are not good. If they're not good, then they're bad. Not only are they bad, they are terribly bad,[2] concludes Halimi. Serge Halimi continued his argument by contending that after the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, NATO's dissolution was to have followed. Instead, the "Kosovo war gave the necessary legitimacy to this American instrument, and under a humanitarian cover, found a reason to continue its existence."[3]

Within this ideological framework, the war in Kosovo promoted American interests and as such it was inherently a bad war. The victim of this war was not the Kosovo Albanian community, but the Milošević regime, which was "resisting American domination." According to Halimi, another victim of this war was "information,"[4] because the media misinformed the public to serve the interests of the US and NATO. In a related argument, Halimi discussed the motives of this war.

> *We were told that Yugoslavia refused to sign the agreement in Rambouillet, and that it had committed genocide or an ethnic cleansing plan. We were told that the Westerners wanted to intervene for humanitarian reasons. These reasons were false. There was no agreement in Rambouillet; there was only an ultimatum against Yugoslavia. Such an ultimatum was sure to be rejected by Yugoslavia, thus giving NATO the pretext for intervention."[5] Halimi contends that. "everybody knows or at least should know that humanitarian aid is not the primary motive of American foreign policy. "Humanitarian intervention" is only an alibi to hide the true goals: the domination in Europe! We also know there was no genocide. There were massacres we can count, but they don't resemble the genocide. We also know that the plan "Horseshoe" which was presented twice as top news in Le Monde was false!"*[6]

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1 Ibid.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 Serge Halimi, quoted program, "Les médias pendant la guerre du Kosovo (1/3)"
5 Ibid.
6 Serge Halimi, Les médias pendant la guerre du Kosovo (1/3), http://www.dailymotion.com/video/x4crrr_les-medias-pendant-la-guerre-du-kos_news and

These were the conclusions of this self-styled critical analyst who was solely concerned about objective information, whose "political education" had made him "vigilant" and able to distinguish "the misinformation of those who want to dominate in Europe."

The same position on the failure of this International Conference in Rambouillet and on the plan "Horseshoe" was shared by a number of intellectuals and political figures. Among them was a member of the Scientific Council of the activist group Attac-France, Catherine Samary. In her analysis titled "Kosovo: Several Lies on the Pseudo-humanitarian War,"[1] she joins journalist/activist Jürgen Elsässer, in his book *The Federal Republic of Germany in the Kosovo war: Chronicle of a Manipulation,*[2] journalist Michel Collon *in Monopoly – NATO and the World Invasion,*[3] and many other authors in saying firmly that they do not trust the humanitarian intervention in Kosovo. On the Serbian side, Belgrade propaganda outlets continuously trumpeted that, "this war occurred because of the personal hatred of the West against Milosevic, since he was an obstacle for their expansion of influence in this part of the Balkans."[4]

Numerous analyses in Western countries also shared the interpretation of the NATO attacks: that they were motivated by "hatred against the person resisting the American domination!"[5] Apparently, the West is bothered a hundred times more by Milosevic than by their citizens," Regis Debray concluded his letter addressed to the President of France. The debates about legality or illegality of these attacks have not lost their relevance even 15 years after these events. A look at the

http://www.homme-moderne.org/societe/media/halimi/opinion/syndikat.html

1 Atac France, Cathrine Samary, "Kosovo 1999-2009 : Quelques mensonges de la pseudo guerre humanitaire" (Some lies about the pseudo-humanitarian war). http://france.attac.org/archives/spip.php?article9880

2 Jürgen Elsässer, cited book,"La RFA dans… "

3 Michel Collon, cited book, "Monopoly- l'OTAN …"

4 See prologue of this chapter

5 Radio Courtoisie, Emission du "Libre Journal de Serge de Beketch",07.04.1999, "Le vol du Kosovo. Avec Bernard Lugan, Dominique Venner et Philippe Conrad" http://www.ekouter.net/le-vol-du-kosovo-avec-bernard-lugan-dominique-venner-et-philippe-conrad-sur-radio-courtoisie-253

periodicals that publish articles about international law or related subjects shows that a large amount of editorial space is still devoted to this topic. From the time of the attacks themselves to the present, analyses of the legality of the NATO attacks invariably reflect the ideological perspective of the authors. A further examination of opposing viewpoints of this issue is not essential to what is critical here: Those who saw the NATO intervention in view of the "American domination of Europe and the World" were blinded to the plight of Kosovo Albanians and to Milosevic's policy of genocide.

EPILOGUE TO CHAPTER FOUR

"I also feel Albanian"- Václav Havel

In concluding our discussion on the legality or the illegality of NATO's intervention against Slobodan Milosevic's Yugoslavia, I shall quote some lines from Václav Havel[1], published in the newspaper Republika and Le monde on April 29, 1999.[2]

> *I have received many letters from Serbian actors who have staged my theatrical plays and who appreciate me very much. They ask me what is it they have done wrong to deserve getting bombed in this way. Of course, they have done no harm to me. But their regime uses military troops to massacre its citizens, to massacre a large group of their fellow countrymen. Milosevic has blood on his hands and cannot continue to be an interlocutor to finding a political solution.*
>
> *In accordance with the principle derived from the human solidarity that transcends the borders of states and regions, what this regime is doing to the Albanians feels the same as if it was being done to me. I also feel Albanian!*
>
> *I think that the NATO intervention has one thing no one can oppose. The attacks and the bombs are not driven by any material interest. Their character is exclusively humanitarian. We are dealing here with human rights as a priority issue. And these rights take precedence over any state sovereignty. That's what makes it legitimate to attack the Yugoslav Federation, even without a mandate from the United Nations.*[3]

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[1] Czech playwright, essayist and politician, who stood at the head of the state of Czechoslovakia during 1989 – 1992, and after the division of this state in two independent states, he remained president of the Czech Republic during 1993 - 2003.

[2] Le monde.fr, Edition abonnés, "Vaclav Havel: 'Moi aussi je me sens albanais'" (paid artile)http://www.lemonde.fr/cgi-bin/ACHATS/acheter.cgi?offre=ARCHIVES&type_item=ART_ARCH_30J&objet_id=20689 and "Vaclav Havel : 'Moi aussi je me sens albanais'" http://fr.groups.yahoo.com/neo/groups/Forum-socialiste/conversations/topics/484

[3] Ibid.

CHAPTER FIVE

PROLOGUE TO CHAPTER FIVE

The Wolf in Sheep's Clothing

Serbia's free and independent press was at a high intensity. There was not a single day when my family and I were not publicly attacked with various defamations. Nobody was ever held responsible for what they said. There were no political prisoners in Serbia. Freedom of organization was at the highest level.

The same "kitchen" where the Recak lie was cooked produced many more stories to justify the military intervention and aggression against our country. The so-called ethnic cleansing plan named "Horseshoe" was a fabrication and had not existed before as an idea and let alone as a project. It was common knowledge that there were less than one million Albanians left in Kosovo because hundreds of thousands of them had fled abroad. Operation "Horseshoe" was a fabrication of the German Ministry of Defense. It was war propaganda!

To give more credibility to the lie about the ethnic cleansing plan in Kosovo, NATO aircrafts were throwing papers in Albanian language, which guided Albanians to flee Kosovo. At the same time, being their ally the KLA was doing the same and was killing those who resisted. In the tradition of the Serbian army the prisoners of war and unarmed people are sacred! Even the birds in the sky know there was an order that banned our military and police units to open fire in situations where citizens may be endangered. Whoever violated such sanctity was always to be held responsible, though this was never a case within the army or the police. This does not imply that certain individuals or groups have not done wrong, but wrongdoings from the military or the police have never been observed.

The KLA knew that our police and our army would never shoot on civilians, so they've taken inhabitants of entire villages and used them as a shield to get out to Albania, Macedonia or Montenegro. After this, Nato bombed convoys of refugees who were trying to return to their villages. This was a clear message that the order to flee Kosovo had to be implemented. Those who fabricated the above mentioned lies also set up the Stankovec Refugee Camp in the Yugoslav-Macedonian border. Some 30 thousands of Albanians from Macedonia had been brought to this place to be introduced before foreign diplomats as people who had been deported from Kosovo. When these naive diplomats returned to visit the refugees, the camp did not exist anymore. I repeat that Kosovo did not suffer a humanitarian catastrophe, or expulsion of Albanians. Both were provoked by NATO bombings.

Slobodan Milosevic[1]

I hope that by the end of this chapter the reader will be able to assess the extent to which the Belgrade regime's propaganda and misinformation distributed free by the Yugoslav Ministry of Foreign Affairs influenced those journalists, philosophers, sociologists, political scientists, politicians, analysts and historians who had particular ideological perspectives about the USA.

Ethnic Cleansing in Kosovo and the Operation "Horseshoe"

The military intervention of NATO against Milosevic's regime mobilized everyone in anti-NATO and anti-American circles. For these parties, the articles[2] of French journalists Renaud Girard and Christophe Châtelot were primary sources of information, even coming as they did

[1] Foundation for Humanitarian Rights, Belgrade, Serbia
Transcripts of session in 2002: 14, 15 and 18 February; 13, 14 and 15 March; 18 and 19 April and of 14 June 2002
http://www.hlc-rdc.org/Transkripti/Milosevic/_Milosevic.html

[2] discussed in the previous chapter

from non-mainstream publications. The public had the opportunity to learn the bitter truth about the killing of Albanian civilians in Recak. Still, doubts about the events in this village evolved into arguments which concluded that "The Serbian massacre in Recak has never happened. This was a lie produced to provoke NATO intervention against Serbia."[1]

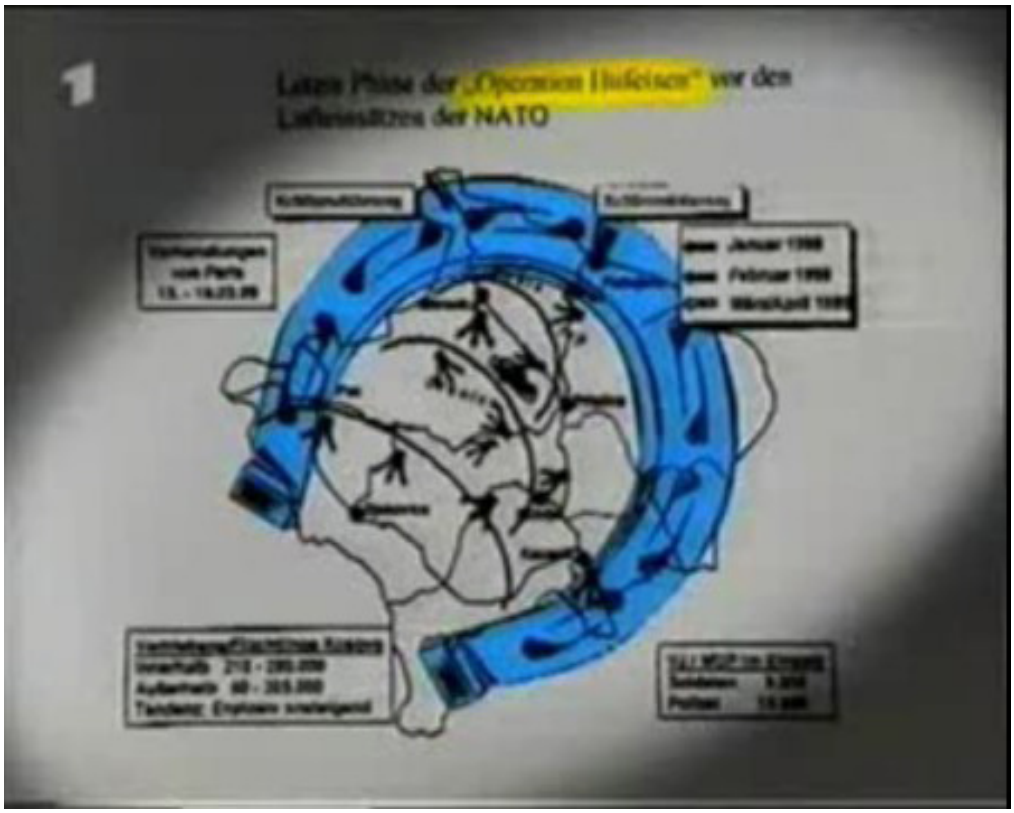
The failure of the International Conference about Kosovo was interpreted from the same perspective. As we saw above, according to this logic there was no agreement in Rambouillet, only an ultimatum to Yugoslavia, which was intended to be rejected and justify NATO intervention.[2] In short, these journalists saw it as just another lie to justify American imperialist policy. In the course of trying to prove their theory that the NATO attacks were planned with the aim of justifying its existence after the collapse of the USSR, Girard and Châtelot argued that the Serb plan of ethnic cleansing in Kosovo was a lie to legitimate aggression against Yugoslavia. Let us examine this claim.

On April 9, 1999 German Defense Minister Rudolf Scharping unveiled to the public a Serbian plan for the expulsion of Albanians. This plan, codenamed "Horseshoe," was proof that the expulsion of Albanians from Kosovo was not simply revenge because of the NATO airstrikes, but a detailed political strategy.

The reactions of state leaders whose countries participated in the attacks against the Milosevic regime were in the same spirit. Joschka Fischer, German Minister of Foreign Affairs, publicly said that "What was happening in Kosovo was not a matter of a refugee crisis, but a matter of expulsion of a whole nation."[3] Meanwhile, the French President Jacques Chirac, in a TV address to the public said,

> *It is a monstrous operation of planned ethnic cleansing, led by the highest cynicism and the largest atrocities of the Serbian regime. These*

[1] http://www.esprit-europeen.fr/perspectives_desintox_collon.html
[2] Serge Halimi, Les médias pendant la guerre du Kosovo (1/3) (cited recording)
[3] Anne-Sophie Paquez, La politique de la France au Kosovo était-elle "gaulliste"?, p.41 http://www.unige.ch/gsi/files/4914/0351/6343/paquez.pdf



Operation "Horseshoe"

atrocities are a shame for Europe and the world. The actions taken by Milosevic shall not prevail. Barbarians will not have the last say. Justice will prevail and criminals will be held responsible![1]

Many other politicians and intellectuals shared Fischer and Chirac's position, supporting the commitment to end the oppression of the Albanians by the Milosevic dictatorship.

As a direct result of the outcry at the disclosure of Horseshoe and the demands that Milosevic call a halt to the Serbian barbarity in Kosovo, Slobodan Milosevic closed the borders of Yugoslavia with Macedonia and Albania for two days in a row.[2]

After that, the Serbian government began a propaganda campaign that

[1] Ibid., p.42
[2] Ibid., p.41

used any means possible to deny the plan for the expulsion of Albanians from Kosovo.

As I mentioned in the prologue of this chapter, in the introductory speech during his trial, Milosevic repeated the official position of the Serbian government at the time: he denied all the charges.

> *The same agency that fabricated the Recak lie also fabricated other lies to justify the NATO military intervention and aggression against our country. That's where the so- called Kosovo ethnic cleansing plan named "Horseshoe" was fabricated. This plan did not even exist as an idea, let alone as a project. Operation "Horseshoe" was a fabrication of the German Ministry of Defense. It was war propaganda! Even the name of this plan was not in the Serbian language. If the plan was drawn up by us it would have been named "Potkovica" not "Potkova" (variations of the word "horseshoe"). To make this lie more credible the NATO planes were dropping leaflets in Albanian language, which instructed them to leave Kosovo. Meanwhile, the KLA as their ally was doing the same and was killing those who resisted the orders.*[1]

Anyone who saw the NATO intervention as aggression against a sovereign country shared this position, which was reminiscent of the Biblical creation story, "In the beginning was the Word." They said of the time before the air strikes, "In the beginning was the lie."[2]

According to Belgrade's media campaign, everything that happened in Kosovo was pure fabrication intended to manipulate the emotions of the international community. The regime contended that Serbia had never had a plan for ethnic cleansing in Kosovo, and that the so-called

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[1] Process against Slobodan Milosevic, Foreword of Milosevic, 14.02.2002 http://www.hlc-rdc.org/Transkripti/Milosevic/Transkripti/Transkripti%20sa%20sudjenja%20Slobodanu%20Milosevicu%20(2)/Transkript%20sa%20sudjenja%20Slobodanu%20Milosevicu%20-%2014.%20februar%202002..pdf, p. 154-161

[2] In support of the abovementioned statements, the German TV channel ADR in the program "In the beginning was the lie!" broadcasted on 8 March 2001, made the synthesis of such positions. Similar to this was the article " Au commencement fut le menssonge" (In the beginning was the lie) of author Marc-Antoine Cappo, member of Scientific Council of the French Magazine "La Pensée libre"(The Free Thinking)
http://math.unice.fr/~coppo/mensonge.pdf

"operation Horseshoe" was a lie created by the NATO propaganda factory in order to influence public opinion.[1]

Evidently, only the cognoscenti like Serge Halimi escaped the trap of American imperialist propaganda. Critical analysts like Halimi claimed to be uniquely immune to Western propaganda and were the only ones capable of discovering that the West's claims about the Horseshoe plan were false.[2]

Although some critics noticed that his opinions were remarkably similar to those of the Milosevic regime, Serge Halimi declared that any such comparison wass an "imbecilic, totalitarian and Stalinist way of thinking."[3] Indeed, the reader who does not wish to be an "imbecile" may note that there are a few differences between Halimi's and Milosevic's settings of the Albanians' misrepresentations. Milosevic spoke of a "kitchen" which fabricates lies, whereas Serge Halimi referred to the source as a "factory." Perhaps these two settings are more central to the issue than they appear to be, but it is doubtful.

To make his assertion that "Horseshoe" was a fabrication created to justify NATO's attack on Serbia more credible, Serge Halimi discussed the context that informed his argument. According to his story,

> *[German Minister] Scharping was in a rush to find evidence that the Serbs had planned their criminal policy in Kosovo much earlier. He ordered the German experts to query the refugees, to collect and analyze in detail the evidence of war crimes, atrocities and the horrible brutality. To trigger the emotions of the public opinion in favor of NATO air strikes, Scharping took the terrible stories of the victims as facts. It was said that the killers played football with the severed heads; they massacred corpses[4] and other terrible stories of this nature.*

According to Serge Halimi, then a journalist of *Le Monde*

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[1] Serge Halimi, Les médias pendant la guerre du Kosovo (1/3) (cited above) and the cited interview of Serge Halimi, "Entretien avec la revue Syndikat",

[2] Ibid.

[3] Serge Halimi, cited interview, "Entretien avec la revue Syndikat",

[4] Serge Halimi et Dominique Vidal, "L'opinion ça se travaille…", Marseille, Agone Editeur, 2000, p.63

Diplomatique, this was the source of the Horseshoe story. He claimed that Sharping manufactured this lie in order to touch the emotions,[1] of those who lack the "political education" to understand these stories as disinformation.

The German journalist Jürgen Elsässer shared this position. His arguments and evidence are identical to those published by Serge Halimi and Dominique Vidal. It is irrelevant to our topic who published the information first and who acquired their information from whom. The essence is that these journalists wrote from the same political perspective, through which they interpreted the events in Kosovo. In his book entitled *Fischer's Friends: or How to Fabricate a Reason for a War*[2] Elsässer argues that in order to justify the bombings, the German government attempted to represent the systematic expulsion of Albanians as a pre-planned goal of Belgrade. In support of this thesis, he claims that the presentation of events in Kosovo was falsified. As an example, Elsässer quotes a document distributed by Fischer on March 31 1998, "After the start of the fighting in March, 1998, a strategy was developed that aimed at the expulsion. This was a scorched earth policy that was applied by the Serbian forces. This was supposed to force, not only the KLA but also the civilian population to stay in their homes."[3]

In Chapter V of his book Jürgen Elsässer returns to this topic, borrowing the title of this chapter from the American film *Wag the Dog*, which was a critique of the manipulation of public opinion by influential people with political power. Specifically, the film deals with the cover-up of a presidential sex scandal in which people with influence fabricated a war against Albania! Drawing an analogy to the NATO action against Serbia in the subtitle of this chapter: "How did Fischer and Scharping Come to Invent the Serbian Campaign of Deportation:

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[1] Dominique Vidal : " L'émotion enrôlée dans la guerre du Kosovo " (Emotions recruited in the Kosovo war) http://www.acrimed.org/article480.html

[2] Jürgen Elsässer, Cited book, *La RFA dans la gurre...*

[3] Ibid., p. 42

Operation Horseshoe?"[1] He concludes that the plan of ethnic cleansing in Kosovo was not a strategy of the Belgrade regime, but was invented by people with political influence in Germany.

The main evidence provided by the author to refute the authenticity of Horseshoe was its name. "Potkova" is a Croatian and Bulgarian word for horseshoe, whereas the Serbian word is "potkovica."[2]

Some right-wing political historians such as Bernard Lugan,[3] Dominique Venner, and Phillipe Conrad, also shared Halimi's, Vidal's, and Elsässer's position. Although these three journalists did not like to be quoted alongside the kind of historians who glorified South Africa's apartheid, their position against the American domination of Europe and their fight against what they saw as a disinformation campaign launched in the media[4] unites them. The only difference is some slight changes in terminology. Jürgen Elsässer used *Wag the Dog*, an American film, to refer to political strategies that deflected attention from real problems, creating motives to start a war. Serge Halimi described journalists, different publishers and media experts as "watchdogs"[5] serving this particular propaganda, and Bernard Lugan calls them, "Pavlov's dogs of the press."[6] Simply put, it's a dog-eat-dog situation for these critics of the US and NATO.

According to Jürgen Elsässer, Serge Halimi and Bernard Lugan, the stigmatization of individuals whose opinions differed from theirs as "dogs" was neither a "Stalinist way" of defiling opponents, nor an "imbecilic" practice. It was in full accordance with the "political education" that sees manipulation and lies in every thing the Americans do!

Even the French philosopher Regis Debray thought that the Serbian plan for ethnic cleansing in Kosovo was a fiction and that the exodus of

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1 p.85-101

2 Ibid., p.88

3 For more, see: Radio Courtoisie, Emission du "Libre Journal de Serge de Beketch",07.04.1999, "Le vol du Kosovo. Avec Bernard Lugan, Dominique Venner et Philippe Conrad",. http://www.ekouter.net/le-vol-du-kosovo-avec-bernard-lugan-dominique-venner-et-philippe-conrad-sur-radio-courtoisie-253

4 Ibid.

5 The title of Serge Halimi's book Les nouveaux chiens de garde

6 In the abovementioned program

the Albanians had indeed been provoked by the NATO bombings.

To help verify the claims that the situation in Kosovo was not alarming before the NATO bombings, nor was there any danger of a humanitarian catastrophe, Regis Debray told the French president and the readers of his public letter that

> *Before these bombings had begun, the fighting between the KLA and Serbian forces had made civilians run away.[1] I was told that most of them were relatives of the fighters. According to the AFP correspondent, their number was limited. People were seeking refuge in the homes of their neighbors. Nobody died of starvation, nobody got killed in the street, and nobody was fleeing to Albania and Macedonia. In fact, there was no need for refugee camps on the borders. The NATO attacks provoked the humanitarian catastrophe like a rolling snowball.[2]*

Unlike Regis Debray, the German journalist Jürgen Elsässer did not deny that the situation in Kosovo had deteriorated compared to the autumn of 1998. However, this journalist initially brought figures to illustrate his claims that the German authorities had lied. Specifically, the report of the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs noted a deterioration of the situation compared to the previous autumn. In support of this, they would present figures from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees which showed that the overall number of refugees from Kosovo was around 400,000, and that this number compared to the autumn of 1998 was just an increase of 100,000 new refugees.[3]

According to Jürgen Elsässer,

> *This number was made up. On October 23, 1998 the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees counted 285,500 refugees, whereas on March 18, 1999 their number was 333,300 refugees. In both*

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[1] Le monde, Régis Debray, cited article "Lettre ..."
[2] Ibid.
[3] Jürgen Elsässer, cited book La RFA dans la gurre...,p.50-51

cases, we should add 100,000 Kosovo Albanians in Western Europe from which only 2.5% had obtained the right of political refugees in Germany. So, UNHCR reported 50,000 more refugees in October, whereas the German ministry reported 100,000 more.

With these figures, this journalist "confirmed" that the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs had lied. Yet, to Elsässer this lie was smaller than another lie he "discovered." The main falsehood of the German government was not the exaggeration of the crisis in Kosovo, because it was undisputed that the crisis had worsened. According to Eilasser, the main lie had to do with hiding the fact that this deterioration of the situation was not a result of the Serbian Forces' actions, but of KLA terrorist acts from which both Serbian and Albanian populations suffered.[1]

In is important here to point out a discrepancy in these figures. To demonstrate this author's manipulation of the statistics on refugees, I cite Resolution 1199 approved by the Security Council in the fall of 1998, which said "We are deeply concerned by the heavy fighting that took place in Kosovo and particularly concerned with the excessive and nonselective use of violence by the Serbian Security Forces and the Yugoslav army which caused many civilian victims," according to the Secretary General. "Also, more than 230,000 dislocated persons were forced to flee their homes."[2]

Despite the fact that the figures in possession of human rights organizations showed a much higher number of refugees, the number found in the Security Council Resolution (230,000 displaced persons) remains the one most often cited by official sources. The demands of Resolution 1199 were unmet, and the situation deteriorated on a daily basis. Prior to the NATO bombings, the UNHCR published the number of 333,300 dislocated persons, showing an increase by more than 100,000 from the autumn of 1998 to March of 1999. The falsification of statistics

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[1] Ibid.

[2] United Nations, Security Council S/RES/1199 (1998), 23 September 1998.

on the displacement of citizens in Kosovo was an attempt by journalists like Elsässer to trivialize the increase in crimes and to decrease the number of innocent lives affected by the violence. This would prove to be characteristic of those reporters and analysts with a "special political education."

Elsässer's diminution of the numbers from the High Commissioner's report of October 1998 and the UNHCR report of March 1999 had the sole purpose of refuting claims that the situation in Kosovo before the NATO bombings was alarming. Jürgen Elsässer concluded from his recalculations of numbers published by the Security Council and the UNHCR that the number of those displaced was 50,000 and proudly announced that he had "discovered the lie" of the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Although Milosevic declared that, "There were fewer than a million Albanians in Kosovo because hundreds of thousands of them had left for other countries,"[1] Jürgen Elsässer published figures much lower than those of the Belgrade regime. In short, even the Serbian government acknowledged higher numbers of refugees than Elsässer, although it may be that Milosevic was boasting about his "accomplishment." The UN Security Council and the UNHCR published the data regarding displacement of the civilian population long before Regis Debray was invited to visit Serbia. It is likely that Debray was aware of these figures when he claimed to have heard from the AFP correspondent that most of those who fled were families of Albanian fighters and according to the AFP correspondent,[2] "Their numbers were limited!"

Debray's minimization of the number of the displaced Albanian population reveals the extent of his "objectivity" in his attempt to present his opinions as "the truth" about the war in Kosovo!

The displacement of 333,300 persons to border countries and 100,000 Kosovo Albanians who had sought asylum in Western Europe may have been seen as a "limited number" by Jürgen Elsässer. Even so,

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[1] See prologue of this chapter.
[2] Aleksandar Mitić

the size of the displaced civilian population, no matter how negligible it may seem to some, shows the alarming context that influenced the decision on NATO military intervention.

To fully understand the implications of the fact that 433,300 persons were forced to flee their homes, the reader should see this figure in context. It represents fully one quarter of the total population of Kosovo!

If something like this had happened to the civilian population of Great Britain, France, Germany or the USA, this proportion would mean 15 million Britons, 17 million French, 20 million Germans or 80 million Americans displaced from their homes. By imagining these proportions readers of Regis Debray's letter, Serge Halimi's book, Noam Chomsky's *New Military Humanism*[1] *and Jürgen Elsässer's Chronicle of Manipulation* will better understand the maneuvers by which philosophers, political scientists, sociologists, linguists and journalists tried to minimize the humanitarian catastrophe suffered by the Kosovo Albanian population.

How do these authors explain the mass deportation of Albanians from Kosovo if it was not planned in Serbia? According to what Regis Debray was told, "Everyone agrees that during the first days of the bombing there was rampant violence by individuals or groups which were 'outside the control' of the central government." During these three days, thousands of Albanians were ordered to leave, but Debray claims to be an eyewitness to "villagers returning to Podujevo, to Serbian soldiers guarding Albanian bakeries, and to victims of the NATO attacks, both injured Serbs and Albanians lying next to each other in Prishtina Hospital."[2]

> *After three days in Kosovo, this philosopher tries to convince us with the following: The exodus continued with little intensity, and this was demanded by the KLA which wanted to withdraw its own kind fearing that they could be seen as collaborators, fearing from the NATO bombing*

[1] French edition: Noam Chomsky, Le Nouvel Humanisme militaire, leçons du Kosovo,
[2] Le monde, Régis Debray, cited article "Lettre ... "

because from of 6,000 meters heights they couldn't make the distinction between Serbian and Albanian targets, that the animal had been killed, that the Americans would win and that this was a good opportunity to emigrate to Switzerland, Germany, or elsewhere.[1]

The media in Serbia, under total the control of the regime, were distributing the same discourse that a small number of people fled the NATO bombings.[2] They illustrated their propaganda with footage from the field.

In addition to his characterization of displacement as a wonderful opportunity to emigrate to a better place, Regis Debray provided us with the military perspective of the displacement.

According to the collected data, in Prishtina alone the KLA had 6,000 clandestine operatives who went into action at the moment the bombing began. According to the Serbs, they couldn't fight in two fronts and decided to evacuate manu militari,[3] *i.e. these were not proper refugees, but NATO's fifth column infantry: the KLA. This evacuation was particularly common in villages where the KLA mixed and blended in with the civilian population.*

In the preamble of this chapter I discussed the primary ideas around which the Belgrade regime's propaganda was articulated. Clearly, there is no substantial difference between the Milosevic propaganda and the claims Regis Debray attributes to the AFP correspondent and even the "opponents" of the regime. In his account, Milosevic did not rule out the possibility that once the NATO air strikes had begun, individuals or groups that were "out of their control" might have practiced violence in Kosovo. Given that Regis Debray repeated Milosevic's statement word for word, how can we consider his perspective neutral?

Nebojsa Pavkovic, the Serbian general who led the war in Kosovo and

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1 Ibid.

2 Serbian Radio Television http://www.rts.rs/page/stories/sr/story/9/Politika/1023930.html

3 Latin phrase the author uses. It means "militarily"

Images distributed by Serbian Media

Below you will find images of the same railway from a different perspective!

Railway exodus to avoid minefields

operation "Horseshoe" told *Limes* magazine, "The Prishtina Corps of the Yugoslav Army summoned the population to return to their houses ensuring them maximum security."[1] Regis Debray said that he was a witness to the peasants returning to Podujevo[2] and Serbian soldiers guarding Albanian-owned bakeries to ensure the maximum security guaranteed by Nebojsa Pavkovic. If crimes were committed, he argued, it was not the Serbian Army that committed them.

According to Milosevic and Pavkovic, "The KLA has taken inhabitants of entire villages to use them as human shields, to get out to Albania, Macedonia or Montenegro." Regis Debray added his voice, claiming, "This evacuation was particularly common in villages where the KLA mixed and blended with the civilian population!"

Although little to no difference can be seen between the propaganda of Milosevic regime and the claims of Regis Debray, such comparative analyses are the work of "Imbecilic totalitarians or people with a Stalinist way of thinking."[3]

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[1] Selected articles (the penultiate item in the list), Interview of Nebojša Pavković for LIMES newspaper "Režija iznenadne katastrofe" http://www.srpskapolitika.com/Izdvajamo/latinica/014.html

[2] City in the border with Serbia!

[3] Serge Halimi, cited interview "Entretien avec la revue Syndikat"

At the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Republic of Yugoslavia in February 2009, Nebojsa Pavkovic was sentenced to 22 years in prison after being found guilty of the expulsion, violent displacement, and the killing and persecution of Albanians during the war in Kosovo. Does Regis Debray regret the false testimony he gave in order to conceal these crimes? It is unlikely.

In the preamble of this chapter, I presented Milosevic's statement that he did not rule out the possibility that during the first few days of NATO bombings, individuals or groups, which were "out of his control" might have committed violence in Kosovo. Even so, he "promised" that they were going to be dealt with accordingly.

To be seen as neutral in this conflict and to avoid citing any of the rulers of Belgrade directly, Regis Debray mentioned Vuk Draskovic, chairman of the Serbian Renewal Movement, as a source of information. He was the official who had been discharged only two weeks earlier from his duties as the Deputy Prime Minister of Yugoslavia and Minister of Foreign Policy.[1] Debray cited this source in his continued defense of Milosevic's claim that the perpetrators were not part of his forces.

"He and many others have told me that since then 300 people have been arrested and indicted for committing violence in Kosovo." Debray continued defending the regime of Milosevic. Who the "others" were who told Debray about the arrests, we can only guess. In the previous chapter we saw the attitude of the judicial authorities of Belgrade toward crimes committed in Kosovo. Even after Milosevic's departure from power the old logic remained dominant, and war criminals continue to hold high positions in the party and the state at the time of this writing. Debray not only quoted unnamed sources to support the regime's position, he also offered himself as a witness. As a witness, Debray supported the story disseminated by Belgrade that Albanians civilians returned to their villages and received protection by the Serbian armed forces.

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[1] Chairman of the Serbian Renewal Movement.

Prishtina Railway Station – the Expulsion of Albanians

"I witnessed the return of the Albanian civilians in their villages in Podujevo," he said. He also claimed to have seen Serbian soldiers guarding Albanian-owned bakeries and both Albanian and Serbian victims of NATO air strikes lying next to each other in Prishtina Hospital. (This hospital has only 2,000 beds). So, Regis Debray presents himself as an eyewitness to the alleged humane behavior of the Serbian authorities. He does not go as far as to openly describe Milosevic as a democratic leader, but refuses to describe him as a "dictator" as portrayed by many in the West.

"He is not a dictator, because he was three times elected[1] and is very tolerant to different opinions! He can be a subject of criticism in a cafeteria terrace without having to hide and such criticism is not missing," eyewitness Regis Debray[2] informed us.

It is true that criticism against Milosevic's regime, though infrequent, never entirely disappeared in Serbia. But what is missing in

[1] Le monde, Régis Debray,cited article "Lettre ..."
[2] Ibid.

Regis Debray's letter has to do with the real source of the information he shares. Where did he learn that Milosevic was "tolerant" to different ways of thinking?

Although this French philosopher asked us not to consider him biased in the Kosovo conflict, and although he tried to convince the French president and the readers of his public letter that he had only met with the opponents of the regime, the content of his letter reveals the opposite.

Anyone who has followed the political situation in former Yugoslavia knows that with the rise of Milosevic to power as the head of the Serbian government a strategy of communicating information developed that was designed to keep him in power. This communication strategy was used by the Belgrade regime during the wars in Croatia, Bosnia and Kosovo. When it came to Kosovo, after the outbreak of the armed conflict in March 1998, the Serbian Ministry of Information launched clear directives[1] to which all media had to adhere. The situation became even worse after the government adopted the Law on Information in October of the same year. Those media outlets that refused to describe the developments in Kosovo in accordance with the directives of the Serbian Ministry of Information and the Law on Information imposed by the Milosevic regime were unable to survive. The Belgrade newspaper *Nasa Borba* was closed down for its refusal to treat the KLA as a terrorist gang or to describe its activities as criminal acts, and to portray the Serbian police actions as merely operations of law enforcement. The same fate was later encountered by other Serbian media outlets that did not comply with the directives of the regime. These media outlets included *Danas*, *Dnevni Telegraf*, *Radio B92* and many local radio stations broadcasting in the Serbian language.[2]

This discussion of the restrictions imposed by the regime only includes the media in Serbia. The restrictions, pressure, and violence committed on Albanian media and journalists was a whole other story.

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[1] 10 March 1998

[2] Renaud de la Brosse, "La couverture médiatique de la guerre au Kosovo ou le journalisme impossible", in: Les Cahiers du Journalisme, June 2000, no 7, p.196-210 and
Confluences méditerranée, N.30, été 1999, Anne Madelain, "Les média indépendants en RFY", p.47-57

There was a tremendous amount of violence and pressure exercised on Albanian intellectuals, who were collectively fired from jobs by the Milosevic regime. Journalists were dragged from publishing houses taken over by the Serbian police, who also occupied the building of Radio Television of Prishtina and other Albanian information centers. Albanian educational institutions and Albanian educational personnel took an enormous hit as well. This is what Debray called Milosevic's "tolerance" towards criticism.

In Serbia, although there were many brave individuals who publicly criticized Milosevic and took the consequences, the case of two Serbian journalists stands out. Their stories should explain why Regis Debray was concerned about possibly being considered "biased" for what he said in his writing.

On October 19, 1998 Slavko Curuvija[1] and Aleksandar Tijanic[2] published the article *Letter to President Slobodan Milosevic* in which they dared to criticize him. In this letter the two journalists expressed their dismay at the fact that,

> *Without having declared a state of war or a state of emergency in Yugoslavia, emergency measures and measures of war are being applied. Serbs are forbidden to listen, speak and see. Three daily newspapers and a radio station have been p shut down. This has never happened in the history of our country. To the society has been imposed permanent psychosis state of emergency, imposed on the omnipotent fear of police or your almighty delegates, those who boast that they have been authorized to decide about life or death of people they dislike. An absolute obedience is required.*
>
> *Mister President, your country, your nation, and your citizens have for ten years now lived in the psychosis of the state of emergency surrounded by dead people, misery, hopelessness and fear.*[3]

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[1] Former editor of newspaper "Borba" owner of weekly "Nedeljni Telegraf", daily "Dnevni Telegraf" and illustrated magazine "Evropljanin".

[2] Journalist and former Minister of Information, Government of Serbia!

[3] Aleksandar Tijanić i Slavko Ćuruvija, "Pismo Predsedniku: Šta je sledeće, Miloševiću?" (Letter to the

Slavko Curuvija and Aleksandar Tijanic went on to discuss other issues.

The public letter, addressed to the president of Yugoslavia, Slobodan Milosevic, was not the public letter addressed to the French president Jacques Chirac. In Milosevic's Yugoslavia, for all those who wanted to "listen, talk and see" despite the restrictions under the law granted them the penalty was immediate. For the criticism expressed in this letter, Slavko Curuvija, the owner of the Belgrade newspapers *Nedeljni Telegraf* and *Dnevni Telegraf* along with the illustrated magazine *Evropljanin,* was fined 400,000 German Marks,[1] and his property was confiscated. For criticism against the regime in Belgrade, Curuvija was sentenced to five months in prison.[2]

Despite their relentless pressure on independent media, Milosevic and the spokesmen of his regime continued to claim that, "The free and independent press in Serbia was attacking him the highest levels. There was not a single day when Milosevic and his family were not publicly attacked with the most diverse defamation, and nobody was held responsible for what was said. Serbia did not have any political prisoners!"[3]

Although Regis Debray parroted the position of the Belgrade regime that Milosevic was not a dictator and that "He could be criticized from a cafeteria terrace without retribution and that there were no political prisoners in this country." He asked us not to consider him biased in this war because he has obtained this data from opponents of the regime.

Is there a possibility that Regis Debray, who used the same form as Curuvija to communicate with the "President of the Republic," i.e. a public letter, had not heard that the owner of three Serbian newspapers,

presidents: Milošević, what's next?), 19 October 1998, http://www.slavkocuruvijafondacija.rs/sta-je-sledece-milosevicu-tekst-zbog-kojeg-je-zabranjen-evropljanin/

[1] Their value today is around 200,000 euros

[2] Libération, Hélène Despic-Popovic, "Slavko Curuvija, l"homme qui en disait trop. Assassiné dimanche à Belgrade, ce journaliste d'opposition avait longtemps fréquenté l'entourage de Milosevic.", 15 avril 1999 http://www.liberation.fr/evenement/1999/04/15/slavko-curuvija-l-homme-qui-en-disait-trop-assassine-dimanche-a-belgrade-ce-journaliste-d-opposition_271296

[3] See the prologue of this chapter

Slavko Curuvija executed in front of his apartment in Belgrade

Slavko Curuvija, was fined 400,000 German Marks and had had his property confiscated only because he criticized Slobodan Milosevic? I ask this question because a month before, Regis Debray was invited to the "Wednesday Dinner" of May 12, 1999 organized by the Serbian Secret Service. This timing is interesting. The world press had announced that on April 11, 1999 Slavko Curuvija, owner of a number of newspapers independent from Milosevic's control, was assasinated.

A large number of French newspapers reported on this murder, and many of the newspapers discussed the reactions of numerous personalities to this murder. I will not quote the political leaders who reacted to this murder, because they might be considered "biased" in this war on the press. It is possible that Regis Debray had not heard such reactions, because he was not attending to views oppositional to his own. Still, it is impossible to have missed hearing the reaction of the general director of UNESCO in Paris, Federico Mayer who described the murder of Slavko Curuvija as, "A hideous crime and a violation of freedom of information."[1]

[1] Le directeur Général de l'UNESCO condamne l'assassinat à Belgrad du directeur d'un quotidien

Although thousands of articles in the French language dedicated to the murder of Curuvija can be found on the Internet, I will quote only one. On April 15, 1999 a month before the publication of Debray's *Letter to the President of the Republic* Hélène Despic-Popovic published an article in *Liberation* about the murder of the man who had written the *Letter to the President of the Yugoslav Republic*. In this article entitled *"Slavko Curuvija, the Man who Talked Too Much was Killed in Belgrade on Sunday"*[1] Despic-Popovic wrote about the fine of 400,000 German Marks, the confiscation of his property, the time in prison and finally about the murder of this journalist. Slavko Curuvija was killed by Milosevic's powerful police and their associates, those who boasted that they were authorized to decide on life and death matters for enemies of the regime, meaning anyone who did not comply with the absolute obedience demanded.

After the murder of Slavko Curuvija, no one from the opposition members of the Belgrade regime would be so impertinent to lie to Regis Debray about the supposed "tolerance" of Milosevic concerning freedom of thought. The criticism of Milosevic cost the owner of three independent newspapers his very life. Regis Debray's information was diametrically opposed to the reality of restricted freedoms in Yugoslavia. His claim only one month after Slavko Curuvija's murder that it was possible to criticize Milosevic with impunity was wrong-headed and arrogant. Debray's claim that Milosevic could "Be criticized from the terrace of cafeteria, without having to hide" is a nonsense given what happened to any journalist foolhardy enough to try it. Although he demanded to be considered "neutral" in this war of words, Regis Debray took a clear position alongside those who tried to hide the crimes committed by the Milosevic dictatorship. For further support, we only have to consider the explanation he gave for the violence in Kosovo.

During the Serbian offensives of 1998, in his attempt to rehabilitate

indépendant (Director General of UNESCO condems the murder of the director of an independent daily newspaper in Belgrade)
http://www.unesco.org/bpi/fre/unescopresse/99-77p.htm

[1] Libération, Hélène Despic-Popovic, cited article, "Slavko Curuvija, l''homme qui en disait trop…"

the image of Milosevic, Regis Debray presented the number of killed, about 2,000 people,[1] in a different context. Debray claimed that it was "widely known" that there were 1,700 killed in 1998. So, the number of casualties is 2,000 members of the armed forces of both sides.

What about the civilians? Where are the civilians who were killed, those whose killing alarmed the UN Security Council? Debray did not forget to mention them, but based on the sources that he claimed were opponents of the Belgrade regime and pro-Western journalists of Serbian origin, the civilians were not killed by Serbian forces, but by the KLA. Furthermore, he declared to the French President that "The KLA kidnapped 380 people of whom 103 were released, whereas the others had been killed or gone missing." Regis Debray did not provide these statistics solely to President Jacques Chirac, but to the public, because he, like most French writers, knew that Chirac considered statistics to be "The third form of lying!"[2]

To manipulate the readers of his letter and to appear unbiased as he presented statistics straight from Belgrade, Debray claimed that these "facts" were from opponents of the regime. Moreover, he mentions Vuk Draskovic, chairman of the Serbian Renewal Movement. Debray's attempt to portray himself as unbiased failed. A number of articles in France questioned the neutrality of Regis Debray and denounced him as a mouthpiece for the regime. The most significant was a cartoon in the satirical magazine *Charlie Hebdo*,[3] which rejected the claims of the philosopher that, "In Prishtina, where tens of thousands of Kosovars lived, you can have lunch at a local pizzeria accompanied by Albanians."

In the epilogue of chapter two, we saw a new context created after the statements of Aleksandar Vucic, the Serbian Deputy Prime Minister

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[1] Number mentioned in many reports of international organizations for the protection of human rights

[2] Le Nouvel Observateur, 16 qershor 1980, Citations de Jacques Chirac
"Faites attention, la statistique est toujours la troisième forme du mensonge"
http://www.dicocitations.com/citations/citation-85999.php

[3] In January of 2015, *Charlie Hebdo* suffered an attack by two members of Al Qaeda Yemen in response to a cartoon depicting Mohammed. Eleven staffers at the magazine and one police officer were killed. The magazine has since become a world-wide symbol for freedom of speech.

at the time and currently the Prime Minister of Serbia that, "The Serbian authorities were killing those who were thinking differently and its opponents." Such an attitude released publicly by a senior state political figure, and especially acknowledging the murder of the Serbian journalist Slavko Curuvija and the killing of six young Serbs at "Panda Bar" in Peja, 1998[1] shocked the public in Serbia. There was a lot of support by those who wanted to discover the truth about the crimes committed by Milosevic's people. I will discuss one of those Serbian opposition members, the one mentioned by Regis Debray. In the interview entitled *Milosevic Ordered Radeta and Legia to kill Serbian Children,*[2] Vuk Draskovic expressed his heartfelt support of Aleksandar Vucic. In additon to addressing the murder of Slavko Curuvija, Draskovic spoke broadly about the methods of organizing, functioning and criminal decision-making as part of Serbia's plan to stir up hatred towards Albanians and to stigmatize the KLA. Draskovic explained that

> *The decision for a series of crimes against Serbs in Kosovo and the Albanians who supported Serbia and condemned the KLA publicly, was made by Milosevic at his strategic Headquarters. Milorad Ulemek-Legija was appointed the head of the death squad of the Special Operations Unit. He was taking orders from Radomir Markovic, the chief of the State Security Service of Serbia at the time. Each of them was sentenced to 40 years in prison for ordering multiple murders.*[3]
>
> All of this Vuk Draskovic told the Belgrade newspaper *Kurir.*

Within a few days, this disclosure brought about the arrest of those who were still alive from the group that executed Slavko Curuvija. These arrests were expedited because of the testimony of the infamous Serbian criminal Milorad Ulemek-Legija who, as mentioned earlier, was

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1 Radijo-televizija Srbije, Vučić: Država je ubila Ćuruviju, 29.12.2013 http://www.rts.rs/page/stories/sr/story/9/Politika/1482926/Vu%C4%8Di%C4%87%3A+Dr%C5%BEava+je+ubila+%C4%86uruviju.html

2 Kurir, cited interview "Vuk Drašković: Milošević naredio Radetu i Legiji da ubiju srpsku decu!"

3 Ibid. http://www.kurir-info.rs/vuk-draskovic-milosevic-naredio-radetu-i-legiji-da-ubiju-srpsku-decu-clanak-1185359

sentenced to forty years in prison because of his involvement in the assassination of the Serbian politician Ivan Stambolic, Serbian prime minister Zoran Dzindjic, the assassination of four members of the Serbian Renewal Party, the attempted murder of Vuk Draskovic, and many other crimes.

Based on Legia's testimony, the chief of state security in Belgrade at the time, a Mr. Milan Radojnic and the former Director of the Sixth Directory of State Security Ratko Romic were arrested. The former chief of State Security Radomir Markovic and the member of the Special Service Miroslav Kurak[1] were both suspected of giving the orders. I said those who were still alive were arrested because in an attempt to conceal the traces of crime the head of the Secret Service had ordered the execution of four members of the group that had committed the murder: Luka Pejovic, Zoran Ristovic, Zoran Davidovic and Branko Jevtovic.[2]

Kosovo, a Theater with Closed Doors

Representing the KLA as a terrorist organization required total control over Serbian media in order to naturalize the regime's propaganda as the absolute truth. In addition to local media control and the obedience

[1] Press, "Legija je otkrio ko je ubio Slavka Ćuruviju!" (Legija revealed who killed Slavko Ćuruvija http://www.pressonline.rs/info/hronika/297014/legija-je-otkrio-ko-je-ubio-slavka-curuviju.html

[2] Večerne Novosti, "Slučaj Ćuruvija: I ubice su mrtve," (Case Ćuruvija: the killers are also dead!) http://www.novosti.rs/vesti/naslovna/hronika/aktuelno.291.html:316438-Slucaj-Curuvija-I-ubice-su-mrtve

of the journalists in Serbia, it was also of crucial importance to exert influence over the international media and add journalists, philosophers, sociologists, political scientists, politicians, analysts and historians like Christophe Châtelot, Renaud Girard, Regis Debray, Bo Adam, Jürgen Elsässer, Patrick Barriot, John Laughland, Serge Halimi, Jean-Marie Lepen, Dominique Vidal, Bernard Lugan, Dominique Venner, Philippe Conrad, Jean-Arnauld Derens, Pierre Péan, Xavier Raufer, Christoph Blocher, and Dick Marty to the stable of spokesmen in Belgrade. For this reason, the disobedience of some Serbian journalists in refusing to follow the directives of the Milosevic's Ministry of Information cost them dearly. Earlier, we saw that the Serbian media outlets that refused to describe the KLA as a terrorist organization were shut down, and journalists who went so far as to criticize Milosevic were subject to horrific violence, including assassination.

In the new context we are seeing in Serbia, the Serbs themselves are revealing the mechanisms used by the Serbian Secret Service to conceal the crimes committed against Serbian and Albanian civilians in Kosovo and against those who criticized Milosevic. In this new context, shocking facts about the period before the NATO intervention were discovered by Serbian policemen, facts that were related to the operations of "clearing the ground" in Kosovo during 1998. The Serbian police, led by the conviction "That a dead Albanian was better than a living Albanian"[1] would kill a baby in the cradle for mere pleasure. This was the case of four-month-old baby, Fitim Gezim Ademaj, from the village Ratishte e Poshtme (Lower Ratishte).

In this regard, the journalists, philosophers, analysts, and historians who helped the regime conceal the most monstrous crimes carried out under Milosevic's orders, have a duty to withdraw from public life and to distance them from the work they have done. Of course, I speak to those who were not fully aware to what they were doing at the time. As we

[1] Fond za humanitarno pravo, cited evidence of Serbian policeman Slobodan Stojanović- "They've made table lamps from the skulls of killed Albanians ", http://www.hlc-rdc.org/?p=25433

Baby killed in the cradle

discussed, public figures, analysts, and journalists who were independent from the regime were a risk factor to the regime's propaganda strategy. For this reason, as soon as the NATO air strikes began, all necessary measures were undertaken to prevent these journalists from reaching the public. The day following the air strikes, via the Communiqué of March 25 1999, the Serbian Ministry of Information announced that

> *Based on article 8 of the Law on the Protection of the Republic of Serbia, the Minister of Information decrees the order to deport all foreign journalists and media who come from the countries which participate in the aggression of the NATO forces against Yugoslavia or from the countries whose territories are used to execute the aggression."*[1]

In accordance with this decree, Western journalists were interrogated by the structures of the Serbian repressive apparatus, and

[1] *Les Cahiers du Journalisme*, Renaud de la Brosse, " La couverture médi-atique de la guerre au Kosovo ou le journalisme impossible ", qershor 2000, no 7, p.196-210 http://archiv2.medienhilfe.ch/topics/delabrosse/CahiersK.pdf, p.5 electronic version

afterwards deported from Yugoslavia.[1] The only foreign journalist who remained in the country was Paul Watson of *The Los Angeles Times*. He is the Canadian journalist that Regis Debray presented as "anti-Serbian" and who had been hiding in Kosovo during the war without the permission of the regime. He, together with a "pro-western" Serbian journalist, accidentally met Regis Debray and informed him that they strongly objected to Debray's assertions that there was no humanitarian catastrophe in Kosovo before the NATO bombings, that the number of those displaced was relatively small, that the civilians were killed by the KLA, and so on. Debray was unmoved.

The government's order of March 25, 1999, reflected the decision to make Kosovo a stage where the Albanian tragedy would be played in a theater with the doors closed to the media. Only the "actors" who could manage to sneak into this "theater" would be able to witness the horrors the Albanians experienced. The isolation of Kosovo from foreign journalists provided freedom not only for those who were in power in Belgrade, but also to the philosophers, political scientists, sociologists, historians and left or right-wing politicians whose common denominator was "anti-Americanism" to say whatever they wished without fear of contradiction. Serbia was presented as a victim of this war, and the NATO air strikes were framed as the action of cowards. Regis Debray tried to convince the French president not to send French infantry to Kosovo because "The enemy was waiting for them impatiently, and the war on the ground was not the same as from a height of 5,000 meters." Meanwhile, Bernard Lugan was more direct, and publicly stated that, "Clinton is waging a cowardly war. He dares not to send the American infantry to face that of Serbia, so instead he uses tomahawks: cowardly weapons against Serbian civilians. Let him send his soldiers to face the Serbian soldiers as men instead of bombing civilians."[2] Facing the Serbian soldiers as men—a contradiction in terms!

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[1] Ibid.,

[2] Radio Courtoisie, cited program "Libre Journal de Serge de Beketch",07.04.1999, "Le vol du Kosovo. Avec Bernard Lugan, Dominique Venner et Philippe Conrad", Second part, min. 28:00

To describe the "manly" war of the Serbian forces, I will not refer to the testimonies of the Albanians, because Serge Halimi might describe them as "horrific stories of victims" used to galvanize public opinion. Instead, I will present the stories of the Serbian police and army officers who witnessed the crimes in Kosovo. Their testimonies do not pretend to be "neutral" about the Kosovo war like Regis Debray; they were part of the Serbian repressive apparatus who ultimately did not want to remain silent about what they had seen. Readers will remember the story of Slobodan Stojanovic, the Serbian police officer who had been deployed to Kosovo several times. Unlike other years he had participated in actions against Albanians, he describes 1998 as a horrific year.

> *During the three months in Kosovo I have seen terrors. The army was walking in front of us, and from the early morning they were using the multi-barreled rocket launchers towards the hillside villages of Gllogovc, thus killing everything that moved. After cleaning the area in Gllogovac I saw a group of 400 to 500 Albanians:women, children and elderly. Somebody wanted to open fire, but I stopped them. Later I saw the horror! Mutilated corpses, houses burnt from the explosions. I couldn't even imagine something like this could have happened. Women, children, animals and everything that moved were killed in Upper and Lower Prekaz. Drenica was burning. There, I saw plunder of property, tractors and cars being stolen, motor chainsaws, cultivators. People's fingers were cut to take their gold rings. To sum it up, they were taking whatever in their sight."*[1]
>
> Is this what Mr. Lugan calls "manly" confrontation?

It has now been revealed by the Serbian police members themselves that among the many crimes committed in Kosovo before NATO intervention, the appalling story of the Serbian police officer about the table lamps made of heads of Albanians was the most shocking evidence influencing Serbian public opinion. According to this testimony, a

[1] Ibid.

member of the Pirot Detachment, part of Section 87 of the Special Police Units, was known to have decapitated the dead body of an Albanian. Then, for a several days he had boiled the head in a pot. He had pulled out four golden teeth from the head, and then had taken the skull home to spray it with paint and make a table lamb from it. He had done the same with a dead woman. He had decapitated her, boiled the head and made another table lamp. He wanted to have a couple of lamps. Normal people were terrified.[1]

No matter how phony it may sound to people like Serge Halimi, Dominique Vidal, and others of their persuasion who see these stories as dramatic fabrications designed to clear the way for NATO air strikes, this was a real tragedy went beyond the imagination of normal people.

I don't know if the testimony of Serbs who have seen football matches with Albanian heads will ever convince Serge Halimi and his ilk that the crimes in Kosovo were real, not inventions to manipulate the emotions. Rather, the forms and dimensions of these crimes terrified even the Serbian military and police officers, those who considered themselves normal and did not want to keep silent!

Even during the war there were Serbs who opposed these crimes and spoke up about what was happening in Kosovo. Earlier, we discussed the murder of Serbian doctor, Branimir Dokic, killed in 1998 by the Serbian police officer Goran Stamenkovic Stamenko, who blamed the murder on KLA terrorists. Besides the people implicated in these crimes, nobody can possibly know how many of the people who disagreed with the Milosevic regime were killed by the death squads who blamed the KLA for the killings.

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[1] Fond za humanitarno pravo, cited evidence of Serbian police oficer Slobodan Stojanović "Ubijali su decu, žene, starce, čobane, ovce" (They killed children, women, old people, shepherds, sheep…) in http://www.hlc-rdc.org/?p=25448

Who Forged "Horseshoe"?

At the beginning of this chapter, Pro-Milosevic writers who doubted whether the plan "Horseshoe" actually existed or was invented by pro-Albanian journalists, relied on thin evidence to challenge the plan's authenticity.

Although Milosevic's tame journalists were aware that this plan was discovered by the Bulgarian Secret Service and presented through the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to other NATO member states, they reiterated the Milosevic party line and emphasized the fact that the name of this plan was not in the Serbian language "Potkovica," but rather in Bulgarian language "Potkova." According to the same logic, if this plan had been discovered by the KLA, as Michel Collon pretends in his book *Monopoly – NATO and the World Invasion*[1] and had been distributed to the NATO member states, then the plan's naysayers would have focused on why the name of the plan was not in the Serbian language "Potkovica," but in the Albanian language, "Patkoi."

In a word, the authors contesting the authenticity of this plan insist that the original document of this operation is missing, because the document in Serbian signed by Milosevic was not found.

In absence of this original document, what would "satisfy" those who deny the existence of the plan of ethnic cleansing in Kosovo? There were many who spoke of the Serbian General Momcilo Perisic, the person who first told of this operation, and surmised that his discovery of this plan was the reason for dismissing him as Chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army. Even a statement from Yugoslav Army colonel Dragan Vuksic that, "The operation Horseshoe was personally ordered by Milosevic" may be doubted by someone like Jürgen Elsässer because the original document is missing.[2] To the reader who is able to read the

[1] Michel Collon, cited book, Monopoly- l'OTAN à la conquête du monde,

[2] Those interested in the topic can get more information in the book "Military Secrets, Part Two", author Vladan Vlajkovic.
Vladan Vlajković, VOJNA TAJNA, 2. Deo, Full text found at the URL below:

Serbian language, I recommend the book *Military Secrets – Part Two* by Vladan Vajkovic to learn about the defiance of Serbian officials, especially the military regarding such statements. This should give you a rough idea of the risk that threatened people who strayed from what Belgrade felt was permissible in interpreting the events in Kosovo.

The debate on the authenticity of the operation Horseshoe document hides the essence of Serbian policy issue on the ethnic cleansing in Kosovo.

What really happened between 1998 and 1999? Again, lest I be accused of presenting biased sources, I will limit this discussion to the testimony of Serbian military and police officers.

The testimonies that follow are from a freelance Serbian journalist, who worked for several newspapers and was a correspondent of *AFP (Agence France-Presse)*, similar to Aleksandar Mitic mentioned by Regis Debray. Unlike Aleksandar Mitic, who was described by Debray as "pro-western" in order to make him more credible, and whose opinions were identical to those of the Milosevic government, Miroslav Filipovic, a journalist of the Belgrade newspaper *Danas,* a correspondent of *Agence France-Presse,* and an analyst for the *Reporting Institute for War and Peace*[1] *was convicted and sentenced as a spy for the West.*

In an editorial he wrote, based on the statements of Yugoslav army senior officers who had participated in the Kosovo war, Miroslav Filipovic said that members of the Yugoslav armed forces had committed massive murders of Albanian civilians during the war in Kosovo. According to Vladan Vlajkovi, Filipovic's story got a strong response from the regime.

> *The publication of this editorial enraged the political, military and police authorities in Serbia. In an extensive meeting called by General Nebojsa Pavkovic, then chief of General Staff of the Yugoslav Army, also attended by the Minister of Defense Dragoljub Ojdanic as well as key personalities of the military prosecution it was demanded the arrest of*

http://www.helsinki.org.rs/serbian/doc/Vojna%20Tajna%20-%202%20Deo.pdf

[1] Institute for War and Peace Reporting.

Miroslav Flipovic. He was one of the victims of this meeting of monsters who should have served as an example to other journalists not to write about things everybody in Serbia knew about,"[1].

If you were to read the transcripts of this meeting, you would see very severe reactions by the military leaders of Yugoslavia against Miroslav Filipovic. A representative example is the reaction of the Minister of Defense. "Imagine what kind of person is he who claims something like that, who says that the military has done such things; he should not be able to leave the prison cell as long as he lives. Do you know what will the international public opinion say when a citizen of this country, furthermore a competent citizen, claims something like that?"[2] Dragoljub Ojdanic, Minister of the Defense, expressed his anger.

Minister Ojdanic's statement was very significant to anyone who contradicted the official interpretation of the war in Kosovo. The threat of Ojdanic and of other structures of the repressive regime was so dire that the majority of those who wanted to speak up about the crimes in Kosovo, pulled back and remained silent. But the intellectual courage of Miroslav Filipovic was outstanding. The following is an excerpt from his writings:

The existence of the plan "Horseshoe" was mentioned few times and very soon it was denied by the government. My knowledge about this plan goes back to the mid 70's. A group of Serbian communists began to worry what was going to happen to the Serbs when Tito[3]*is dead. How to keep Yugoslavia and the communism in this country and how to save it from an Albanian invasion? Then, the conceptual project "Horseshoe" was developed. It was a plan that contained as many small horseshoes as there were Albanian villages. This plan envisaged that around any village there were armed men in formations that resembled a horseshoe, with an opening towards Albania, and gave the local residents a period of few*

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[1] Vladan Vlajković, VOJNA TAJNA, 2. Deo, p.8 http://www.helsinki.org.rs/serbian/doc/Vojna%20Tajna%20-%202%20Deo.pdf

[2] Ibid., Transcripts of this extended meeting, p.18-19

[3] Leader of Yugoslavia, communist dictator which led the country from 1945, until his death in 1980!

dozen minutes to pack up some of the most necessary things and flee their homes. Then they would burn the village, rob properties and exterminate everything. In the open part of the "Horseshoe" the people's documents and extra money would be taken and then they would be subjected to a selection. In this way, some hundreds of thousands of people were moved from Yugoslavia to Albania. The demolition of homes and the monstrous crimes that were associated with the plan would discourage from returning home even those who may be more persistent. In cases when we would be forced to return a part of the Albanian population, we would bring back only those that we want.

Milosevic accepted this conceptual solution, and during his mandate "Horseshoe" became an operational plan the implementation of which needed a war. If not a large-scale war, a local conflict would suffice.

The general practice was implemented in the beginning of the 90's when Bosnian residents were forced to move from the settlements on the right bank of the river Drina, and as a result a part of this territory was ethnically cleansed."[1]

For the 1998 case, we saw the testimony of the Serbian police officer Slobodan Stojanovic, which needs no further discussion here. Also, in the epilogue of chapter three, we presented the testimony of Ratomir Tanic, representative of the Serbian team in the negotiations with the Kosovo Albanian representatives. A year before the NATO interventions, about a quarter of the Albanian population of Kosovo was displaced and forced to abandon their homes. Even authors like Jurgen Elsasser who sought to minimize the number of those expelled, admit that about 100,000 Albanians had sought refuge in Western European countries, and 333,000 more were sheltered in the neighboring countries or within Kosovo. The NATO campaign, provided it only applied a few bombing actions, as the Belgrade authorities expected, constituted a favorable context for the full ethnic cleansing of Kosovo. Further on in his article,

[1] Republika, Ogledi, Nr. 263, Miroslav Filipović, "Dugi marš ka istini o zlocinima" http://www.yurope.com/zines/republika/arhiva/2001/263/263_16.html

See videos at: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k7gEMEnpooE
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9dsUQQv6kvc

Miroslav Filipovic brings to the reader the data that the forces that stormed Kosovo villages numbered around 150,000 people, of which 23,000 soldiers, police officers and reserve troops were from Kraljevo,[1]

"The Elite Tank Unit cleared from village to village. It was only up to the humanity of the squad commander if civilians would be killed or not. However, the police did not have such a 'humanist dilemma.'"[2] After almost three months of such intensive conduct, Serbs had become the greatest criminals of the 20th century. "When these soldiers returned home, they all had many stories and experiences in which there was not much heroism. They were mainly stories about burning Albanian villages, lines of people fleeing, corpses, etc."[3]

Although he was aware of the danger, Miroslav Filipovic published these stories when Milosevic was still in power even though Slavko

[1] City in Serbia, hometown of the journalist.
[2] Quotes are of Filipovic.11111
[3] Republika, Ogledi, Nr. 263, Miroslav Filipović, cited article "**D**ugi marš ka istini o zlocinima" http://www.yurope.com/zines/republika/arhiva/2001/263/263_16.html

Curuvia's murder was still fresh, as it had happened less than a year before.

Filipovic was arrested and charged with the dissemination of lies and espionage in favor of Western countries. On July 26, 2000 the military court in Nish[1] through a rapid and closed procedure sentenced Miroslav Filipovic to 7 years in prison. The only evidence that supported the charge was a statement by the Third Army command and the Prishtina Corps command insisting that no crimes had been committed by their members in Kosovo.[2]

Political institutions and public figures in Serbia and other Western countries together with various intellectuals and journalists, expressed their indignation regarding this sentence. A summary of those reactions to his conviction can be seen in the book *Freedom for Miroslav Filipovic*.[3]

The responses to this process were as numerous as the requests for his release. I will not mention all the individuals who reacted or the media that dedicated special significance to this event. A few statements and some information published on the web portal *Le Courrier des Balkans*, whose founder and manager is Jean-Arnault Dérens will serve as an example.

This portal gave special publicity to the appeal of the International Federation for the Human Rights and the World Organization against Torture for the immediate release of Miroslav Filipovic,[4] and to the activities of Reporters without Borders in regards to this issue. It also published the integral text[5] of the content of Filipovic's essays. Despite actual evidence from Serbian officers about the tragic consequences of the application of "Horseshoe" and the publication of such evidence in his own portal, Jean Arnauld Derens set out to discredit the authenticity of this plan. In his book *Kosovo Trap* he made the same tired argument

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1 City in south of Serbia

2 Vladan Vlajković, VOJNA TAJNA, 2. Deo, p.8
http://www.helsinki.org.rs/serbian/doc/Vojna%20Tajna%20-%202%20Deo.pdf

3 B92, "Sloboda za Miroslava Filipovića" (Freedom for Miroslav Filipović)
http://www.b92.net/mediji/filipovic1. html

4 Serbie: Appel pour la libération immédiate de Miroslav Filipovic (FIDH/OMCT), 27-07-2000
http://archives.rezo.net/archives/courrier-balkans.mbox/
TJPYWLZ7HT4BWA62QGF6KFAOBSPBOUYU/

5 It was previously published by the Institute for War and Peace Reporting), 4 April 2000

that first emerged when the news was broken. He reiterated that the famous "Horseshoe" plan mentioned by senior NATO officials never existed, but rather was some intoxication[1] of the public with tendentious and false information from the Northern Alliance's war propaganda. According to Derens, this false plan, which envisioned the systematic expulsion of Kosovo Albanians, was mentioned for the first time by the German Minister of Defense, Rudolf Scharping. The information was perceived without any criticism by most of the Western media. For example, *Le Monde* made it a top news story. Later, Derens claimed, it was discovered that the plan was information was entirely assembled by the Bulgarian Secret Service in the NATO camp.[2]

Eight years before Jean-Arnault Derens brought his "facts" that the famous plan "Horseshoe" was fabricated to serve as pro-war propaganda of the Northern Alliance, his portal *Le Courrier des Balkans* had published evidence from Serbian officers, collected by Miroslav Filipovic. In these evidences, Filipovic shows unambiguously that

> *This plan contained as many small horseshoes as the number of Albanian villages, and its execution was elaborated in detail: putting armed men around the settlements in the shape of a horseshoe, the order to force people to flee their homes within few minutes, to rob and loot their houses, to demolish what couldn't be taken away, and to kill and mistreat people.*

A terrible testimony, which was also published in Derens' portal told the story of a horrific event, an,

> *Operation of ethnic cleansing in a village in the Southeast of Kosovo where the inhabitants were given half an hour to flee their homes. As the villagers were lined up at the exit of the village, a reservist who was nicknamed "Cerni" approached an older man who was holding in his arms a three or four year-old child. He snatched the child off his arms and demanded a ransom of 20,000 German Marks. The Albanian had only 5,000 Marks.*

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[1] The author uses the word "intox" which means poisoning of the spirit through dissemination of false and biased information

[2] Jean-Arnauld Derens,cited book *Le piège du Kosovo*, p. 136-137

"Cerni" pulled the child by his hair, took out his knife and cut off his head. "5,000 marks are enough only for the body," he said while walking near the villagers and holding the severed head by hair.

Later, 'Cerni' was declared insane, was released from military service and sent back home. Despite having committed such a horrible crime, this man is still free and wandering the streets.[1] Although this evidence was published in *Le Courrier des Balkans*, Jean-Arnauld Derens attempted to explain that the expulsion of Kosovo Albanians was not a political project of the Serbian government because, "The political realism of Milosevic prohibited him from imagining Kosovo free of Albanians!"[2] Instead, according to this French historian, the purpose of expulsion of the Albanians was, "A military plan: to clear the ground by expelling civilians, so they could fight KLA easier."[3] Derens' argument took a torturous path in order to explain the evidence in a way that supported the Belgrade regime. His conclusions speak for themselves.

A few years before the publication of the "explanations" of Jean-Arnauld Derens, the Milosevic regime disingenuously announced that in the tradition of the Serbian Army "unarmed people are sacred" and allegedly there was an "order" that the Serbian military and police forces should not fire where the lives of civilians may be jeopardized.[4]

An example of this propaganda was Jean-Arnauld Derens' account of the Recak Massacre. He published the regime's claim that evacuation of the people from this village by the Serbian police was so they could be free to fight the KLA. The conclusion then distributed as the truth was that Serbian forces did not kill Albanian civilians, the KLA did. During the Milosevic regime, the Serbian journalist Miroslav Filipovic took the

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1 "Que ceux qui ont commis ces atrocités soient jugés pour leurs crimes." 24.06.2000 http://www.liberation.fr/monde/2000/06/24/que-ceux-qui-ont-commis-ces-atrocites-soient-juges-pour-leurs-crimes_328448

2 Jean-Arnauld Derens, "Le piège du Kosovo", Editions Non Lieu, 2008, p. 136

3 Ibid.

4 Prologue of this chapter

risk of publicly denouncing the plan "Horseshoe" and demanding the prosecution and punishment of those who had committed crimes while implementing the operation in Kosovo. For this, he was charged by the military court and was sentenced to 7 years in prison. Jean-Arnauld Derens, who had created his web page to express his solidarity with Balkan journalists, distributed Belgrade's propaganda as the truth, and as a result he showed solidarity not with journalists, but with those who sentenced this Serbian journalist as a spy of the West.

The French press also published the testimony of a Serbian officer, Drazen, who gave an eyewitness account of war crimes.

> *I've seen it with my own eyes when a reservist lined up 30 Albanian women and children against a wall. I thought he just wanted to scare them. But he positioned himself behind an anti-aircraft machine gun and pulled the trigger. 1.3 centimeter- bullets shattered their bodies. It looked like a scene of a horror movie, which happened in reality. Modern tanks were used to massacre children, and the military units of the Yugoslav Army killed at least 800 children less than 5 years of age.*[1]

Besides the testimony of Miroslav Filipovic, there was another published account given by Ratomir Tanic who said that "Milosevic Sainovic[2] acted in a way as to turn the war against terrorism into a war against Albanian villages and civilians. His plan was to expel these people from Kosovo, confiscate their personal documents, and to erase them from the registers, rendering them stateless, so that if they returned to Kosovo it could be claimed that these were Albanians from Albania.[3]

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[1] Libération, "Que ceux qui ont commis ces atrocités soient jugés pour leurs crimes"- Témoignages d'officiers recueillis par Miroslav Filipovic. (The criminals are tried for their crimes – evidence of officers collected by Miroslav Filipović),24.06.2000 http://www.liberation.fr/monde/2000/06/24/que-ceux-qui-ont-commis-ces-atrocites-soient-juges-pour-leurs-crimes_328448

[2] Nikola Šainović is former president of Republic of Serbia and Vice President of the Federal Government of Yugoslavia. On 26 February 2009 was sentenced by ICTY to 22 years in prison, after being found guilty for war crimes against Kosovo Albanians.

[3] Radio Europe libre, "Ratomir Tanic: Oui, il existait un plan de nettoyage ethnique du Kosovo" https://docs.google.com/document/d/1lBGqdCw5E9tFjZlQpn96ohv7UlnKXl3DNkCOECzEV2M/edit?pli=1
See also the testimony of Ratomir Tanić in the process against Milosevic, , 14 May, 15 May, 16 May and

This is the testimony of a Serbian representative, who is not "neutral," but quite the opposite. He openly claims to have a very negative attitude towards Albanians, because they represent a problem for the national interests of Serbia.[1] Another representative revealed that the strategy of the Belgrade regime in implementing the Horseshoe plan was a war against Albanian civilians. In spite of all this evidence, which was published in French as well as Serbian, a few years later Jean-Arnauld Derens wrote that the expulsion of Albanians was the Serbian military effort to clear the ground from civilians was so they could fight the KLA more easily. This is not lack of information, but a deliberate effort to hide the crimes of the Serbian regime in Kosovo and blame "American imperialism" for the tragedies in this part of Europe.

Only a few months after the publication of Serge Halimi's and Doniminique Vidal's book[2] the French press published evidence from Serbian officers about the crimes committed during operation Horseshoe. In an interview for the the magazine *Syndikat*[3] in October, 2000,[4] Serge Halimi had the opportunity to review his positions and admit that his ideological point of view had influenced his reporting of the events. His political perspective led him to distribute Serbian disinformation as if it were facts.

Instead of acknowledging publicly that he was mistaken, in this interview he attacks Laurent Jeffrin, editorial director of the newspaper *Le Nouvel Observateur*, who had described the work of the media in regards to the Kosovo war as "excellent work," and Edwi Plenel, the editorial director of *Le Monde* newspaper, who had claimed that, "Their work had been perfect."[5]

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21 May 2002
http://www.hlc-rdc.org/Transkripti/Milosevic/_Milosevic.html

1 Dëshmia e Ratomir Tanić, 16 May 2002, p. 755

2 Serge Halimi & Dominique Vidal & Henri Maler,*L'Opinion ça se trava-ille...Médias& les "guerres justes" : Kosovo, Afghanistan, Irak*, Agon, 2006 (Fifth Edition) First edition in 2000

3 Serge Halimi, cited interview "Entretien avec la revue Syndikat"
http://www.homme-moderne.org/societe/media/halimi/opinion/syndikat.html

4 Three months after Miroslav Filipovic was sentenced

5 Serge Halimi, Entretien avec la revue Syndikat, October 2000

Serge Halimi explained to the reader of *Syndikat* that the heads of the abovementioned newspapers could not admit that they had been manipulated by news stories from Kosovo that were actually NATO propaganda. To do that, Halimi declared would cause them to lose credibility. Admission of an error is "reserved" only to a category of journalists. They can say, "We've been fooled," but that cannot be done by those who insisted they were right when they were wrong.[1]

Halimi's conjecture about the motives of the newspaper editors actually reveals his own personal motives for refusing to admit that he had been fooled by Serbian propaganda. Serge Halimi admits only to have been a victim of deceit in the beginning, "When I saw the images I was telling myself that this situation is very disturbing and it should be acted upon. But this didn't last long, because I had the political education and the knowledge about the US policies that did not allow me to believe in the humanitarian efforts of the US."[2]

When it comes to his own vulnerability to propaganda, Serge Halimi could not admit that he had been wrong and had been manipulated by the Milosevic regime, because then he would lose his credibility in regard to those he described as Stalinists, imbeciles, etc. And such a confession would be inconsistent with his political education and knowledge of US policies.

However, admitting that a mistake had been made, even in a situation when such a mistake was seen clearly as a denial of information from journalists who reported the truth about Kosovo does not threaten the credibility of a journalist nearly as much as the stubborn insistence on distributing Milosevic's lies when the truth has already been revealed.

The testimony of Serbian police and military officers about massacred bodies, severed heads, and even the table lamps made from the skulls of Albanians is not enough to convince Serge Halimi and Dominique

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http://www.homme-moderne.org/societe/media/halimi/opinion/syndikat.html

[1] Ibid.

[2] Serge Halimi, Les médias pendant la guerre du Kosovo (2/3), minutes 14:35-15:32 http://www.dailymotion.com/video/x4crvk_les-medias-pendant-la-guerre-du-kos_news

Vidal. They continued to repeat in every reprint of their work *Opinion is Processed* that because he needed to mobilize public opinion in favor of NATO air strikes, Scharping treated the terrible stories of victims about murderers who played football with severed heads, the mutilation of corpses as facts.[1]

It seemed as if no amount of proof from any source whatsoever could lead Salimi and Vidal to change their opinion. They carried on reprinting their lies as if they were true, to avoid losing their credibility as journalists. In the fifth edition of *Opinion is Processed,* Halimi and Vidal included Henri Maler[2] as a coauthor. In this edition, in regard to the Kosovo war, they added the part entitled *Post-Scriptum-2006: Proof of the Pudding*.

To reinforce their assertion that the nations of the Balkans enjoyed the NATO war and its consequences, the authors refer to the meaning of the well-known English proverb, "The proof of the pudding is in the eating."[3]

The truth of the matter is exactly the opposite of what Halimi, Vidal, and Maler claimed. The NATO strikes created a new historical context for the end of the hegemonic Serbian policy, which left a bitter and bloody taste to the people from the former Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Although the facts contradicted what was written by Serge Halimi and Dominique Vidal, they kept insisting that time had proved their claims. In the "Proof of the Pudding" they shamelessly stuck to their story despite evidence from their own side. They contended that seven years after NATO operations, it was clear that the arguments that had mobilized Western opinion at the time were wrong. The authors once again declared that the Horseshoe plan was a fabrication manufactured

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[1] Serge Halimi et Dominique Vidal, "L'opinion ça se travaille…", Marseille, Agone Editeur, 2000, p.63 Even in the fifth edition of this book in 2006, the same quotation is found in page 63, like in the first edition.

[2] Henri Maler-i eshtë bashkëanimues i Shoqatës ACRIMED (Action-Critique-Médias- Aksion-Kritikë-Media)

[3] "The proof of the pudding is in the eating "

in the West for the purpose of garnering international support for the NATO air strikes.

According to these authors,

> *It has been confirmed that this plan had been forged by the secret services to blame the Serbian leaders that allegedly they have committed premeditated crimes. Even the German Minister of Foreign Affairs, Joshka Fischer, who used this very vociferously during the war, preferred to wait for the Yugoslav archives to open before he was sure in his statements. These archives were opened after Vojislav Kostunica's victory over Slobodan Milosevic on October 7, 2000. But the former leader of the Greens remained silent. This silence meant that the archives did not have the plan "Patkoi."[1] So, the original was missing!*

The selection of the English proverb for the book's addendum in 2006 is significant. But if by "proof of the pudding" they meant "proof of the horseshoe," then it would be sufficient to remember the testimony of the Serbian police and military officers to recall the the "blacksmith" of Belgrade forging his "horseshoe," a plan to wipe the Albanians off the map of Kosovo by whatever means possible. Even Halimi, Vidal, and Maler admit that Kosovo has been under anti-Albanian apartheid for ten years.[2] But in spite of all the evidence of Horseshoe's implementation, if the authors could not find the original document signed by Milosevic (something that was very unlikely to have been kept) then the plan never existed. Twelve years after the publication of details about the employment of the Milosevic's plan for ethnic cleansing in Kosovo, the French "criminologist", Xavier Raufer wrote that,

> *In April 1999, (two weeks before the Air Strikes against Serbia had begun[3]) the German Minister of Foreign Affairs, Joschka Fischer, pompously announced that a secret plan of the Serbian general staff was discovered. It is a plan that aimed at the ethnic cleansing of Kosovo. According to this*

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[1] Serge Halimi & Dominique Vidal me Henri Maler, cited book " L'Opinion ça se travaille… " 2006, p.106

[2] Ibid., p.102

[3] An indication on the possessed knowledge of developments about this war!

Painful efforts to escape the politics of Serbian genocide in Kosovo

minister, Albanians were going to be massacred by the Yugoslav Army and then they would be expelled towards Macedonia and Albania."[1]

Xavier Raufer did not stop there! He stated that, "The fabrication of this plan was so obvious that even the word used for the horseshoe, was "potkova" which is not a Serbian word, but a Croatian one. Later, NATO shamefully stated that it was not able to show the origin of the history of the "horseshoe."[2]

This author who claimed to "Know the phonetic differences of the Serbian and Croatian words for horseshoe," said that this plan was "pompously announced by the German Minister of Foreign Affairs, Joschka Fischer two weeks before the air strikes against Serbia began in April."

Anyone who has done a little research on this event is aware that the NATO air strikes against the Serbian repressive apparatus began on March 24 1999, i.e. one week before April. Any serious researcher would have attempted to put the event in an accurate historical context. Clearly, accuracy did not matter to Xavier Raufer. What was important to him was

[1] Le nouvel Econmiste, Xavier Raufer, "Balkans, Boucherie et bidonnages" 15 February 2011 http://www.lenouveleconomiste.fr/balkans-boucherie-et-bidonnages-9201/

[2] Ibid.fs

to say that, "The fabrication of this plan was in view of justifying the war!"

Fourteen years after the horrific evidence published by Filipovic, and in a time when the pages of the Serbian media were covered by gruesome evidence of crimes committed during the campaign of ethnic cleansing in Kosovo, Pierre Péan repeated the information that had been reciprocally cited by Serge Halimi, Dominique Vidal, Jürgen Elsässer, Regis Debray, Jean-Arnault Dérens, Xavier Raufer, and others who denied the authenticity of the plan Horseshoe.

As we can see, Péan also shared the opinion that Horseshoe was fabricated to convince the public that the exodus of the Albanians did not begin with the NATO air strikes, but was a result of the criminal policies of Slobodan Milosevic. Pierre Péan repeated what was said many times by many other authors, trying to convince the reader that this plan never existed. According to Péan, "Horseshoe was forged by the Germans, based on the information from the Austrian Secret Service in cooperation with some doubtful sources in the Bulgarian Secret Service!"[1]

This author did not bring anything new; he simply repeated the old propaganda in a new historical context, which will be covered in the next chapter.

[1] Pierre Péan, cited book, Kosovo: une guerre "juste" pour un Etat mafieux, p.154

EPILOGUE TO CHAPTER FIVE:

The Spring of Kosovo's Bartholomew[1]

Even after Milosevic's minions revealed the cover-up of his war crimes, a number of philosophers, historians, sociologists, criminologists, politicians and journalists of a particular political persuasion continued to line up in defense of the argument that ethnic cleansing was a fabrication of American propaganda. Although the NATO military intervention was aimed at avoiding a humanitarian catastrophe and ethnic cleansing of Kosovo, their ideological perspective cast doubt on every American action. These public figures allied themselves with the regime, and insisted on the accuracy of Milosevic's propaganda. Many writers published news about the trial and conviction of Miroslav Filipovic and demanded his release from prison while simultaneously spreading rehashed Belgrade propaganda. When he was finally released from prison, Filipovic made a statement to the press.

> *All have protested against my imprisonment and against my sentence, but nobody said I was right. It is wrong to continue keeping silent about the crimes against Albanian civilians committed by members of armed forces of which responsibility falls on Yugoslav and Serbian officials. Politicians, journalists, and society in general are not ready to speak about what we as a nation have caused to innocent people of other nations, especially to the most vulnerable part of the population, children and women.*
>
> *Not only am I completely right, but those events I have described in my stories are children's games compared to what was done to Kosovo civilians by our boys. During my time in prison I have received letters from priests and monks who have served in Kosovo. The diaries of these preachers hold the sins committed by our police and army officers, day*

[1] The persecution of Kosovo Albanians by the Serbian government was named as " Kosovo Bartholomew Spring 1999 " by the Serbian journaist Miroslav Filipović-i, in analogy to the "Massacre of St. Bartholomew ", which begaon on the night of 24 August 1572 in Paris, lasted for weeks and expanded to more than 20 other cities in France. This event marks one of the largest massacres against the Protestants.

by day. These diaries are full of murdered Albanians, raped Albanian women, killed and burned children. Our politicians, they don't even comment on these events, let alone condemn them. Although some may think this operation was just and a necessity for the national cause, the intention of the plan Horseshoe is a crime in itself.[1]

[1] Republika, Miroslav Filipović,"Dugi marš ka istini o zlocinima", Nr. 263
http://www.yurope.com/zines/republika/arhiva/2001/263/263_16.html
http://www.helsinki.org.rs/serbian/doc/Vojna%20Tajna%20-%202%20Deo.pdf
http://pokretzapromene.blogspot.ch/2011/09/zaklela-se-zemlja-raju-tajne-moraju-da.html

CHAPTER SIX

PROLOGUE TO CHAPTER SIX

Massacre or Holocaust?

To answer this question, well-known foreign periodicals, excluding the French ones, returned again to the event called "Horseshoe" several months after the end of the war and investigated in order to understand what had happened in Kosovo.

On September 23, 1999 the Spanish daily El Pais published an article entitled "Spanish Police and Forensic Experts have not Found Proof of Genocide in the North of Kosovo."

This is the complete text:
War crimes yes, genocide no! The Spanish team of experts consisting of forensics officers and legal representatives were categorical after their return from Istog, the northern area of Kosovo, placed under the control of the Legion. All 187 found and analyzed bodies in nine small settlements were buried in individual graves, in most cases oriented toward Mecca, to respect the religious beliefs of Kosovo Albanians. The bodies showed no signs of torture. There was no mass grave. At least Serbs are not as bad as they were described to us.

They told us we were going to the worst area of Kosovo and that we ought to prepare for the autopsy of 2,000 bodies. We were supposed to work until the end of November. The result is very different. We discovered 187 bodies and we returned," explained Juan Lopez Palafox chief of the forensic anthropological section.

"Read the data of the UN," said Perez Pujol, chief of the Anatomic and

Legal Institute of Cartagena. "They have started with numbers of 44,000 dead people, then reduced that to 22,000 and now they are talking of about 11,000 killed. I can hardly wait to see in the end how many there will really be![1]

Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide

In the previous sections of this book, we have seem the collusion between the Serbian regime's propaganda and several authors from the West to deny the existence of Horseshoe.

In the following section we will examine the reasons for denying the deliberate and premeditated nature of the crimes against Kosovo Albanians and reveal the motives behind the desire to attribute violence against Albanians to "uncontrolled elements" of the Serbian state.

I mentioned earlier that the policy of ethnic cleansing as implemented by the Milosevic regime began to be applied in Bosnia when the inhabitants were forced to migrate.[2] The magnitude of violence during the application of this policy led the UN General Assembly to express its deep concern about the deterioration of the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. According to the resolution of December 18 1992, this deterioration occurred Due to the intensification of acts undertaken by Serbian and Montenegrin forces to conquer more territories. The policy of occupation of territories inhabited by the Muslims and Croats of Bosnia and Herzegovina was manifested by flagrant and persistent violation of human rights, an increase in the number of refugees as a result of massive expulsion from their homes, and of defenseless civilians and hateful policy implementation of ethnic cleansing which in itself is a form of genocide.[3]

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[1] SergeHalimi et Dominique Vidal, "L'opinion, ça se travaille....", p.46-47

[2] Republika, Miroslav Filipović, cited article "Dugi marš ..."

[3] United Nations, General Assembly, Resolution 47/121, on 18.12.1992 http://www.un.org/french/documents/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/47/121&TYPE=&referer=http://

The World Conference on Human Rights of 1993 also described the policy of "ethnic cleansing" as a form of genocide.[1] In the final report of this conference the participants "Assessed that the practice of ethnic cleansing, as a result of the Serbian aggression towards the Muslim and Croatian population of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, constitutes genocide and severe violations of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide."[2]

One of the specific decisions of the conference expressed in a special declaration on Bosnia and Herzegovina had to do with the requirement directed at the international community, international organizations, and the Security Council of the United Nations to take all necessary measures to prevent further consequences of the genocidal policy and to use punishment for those involved in the application of genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina.[3]

These requirements fell on deaf ears of those who drafted the policy of genocide in the former Yugoslavia. The intensity of the violence not stop, in fact, the violence increased in the following years in order to fully implement Belgrade's project for demographic changes in the occupied territories.

The crimes in the territories controlled by Bosnian Serbs, the several years siege of Sarajevo, the mass killings at Srebrenica are just some of the instances where genocide was applied against Bosnian Muslims. These acts took place in the same manner against the Croatian people in Eastern Slavonia, Western Slavonia, in Krajina, Vukovar, Dubrovnik and many other cities in Croatia.

The policy of ethnic cleansing and other acts of genocide were also applied in Kosovo. But, unlike the situation in Bosnia and Croatia, in the

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www.un.org/french/documents/ga/res/47/fres47.shtml&Lang=F

1 World Conference on Human Rights was organized by the General Assembly of the United Nations and held in Vienna from 14-25 June 1993.

2 Nations Unis, Distr. Générale, A/CONF.157/24 (Part I), 13 octobre 1993 http://www.unhchr.ch/huridocda/huridoca.nsf/(Symbol)/A.CONF.157.24+(PART+I).Fr?OpenDocument

3 Ibid.

case of Kosovo the response on the international political scene was much faster. As an illustration I will mention a few of the numerous examples. US President Bill Clinton, British Prime Minister Tony Blair, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Great Britain Robin Cook, President of France Jacques Chirac, Minister of German Defense Rudolf Scharping and many more international political leaders condemned Serbia's policy of genocide, and Milosevic was labeled as a "serial ethnic cleanser."[1] At the same time these statesmen promised that the "Monstrous operation of ethnic cleansing, planned and led with the utmost cynicism and the greatest atrocities of the Serbian regime will not prevail, because barbarity cannot have the final say. Justice will prevail and criminals will be held accountable!"[2]

Before I address the issue of defining ethnic cleansing as a form of genocide and the application of other forms of violence hidden within the notion of "genocide" I will consider it as appropriate to briefly dwell on the notion of "denial."

The author Yves Tornon in his article on the subject of "denialism," explains that this "Neologism[3] appears in a very specific context: that of attempting to deny the genocide against the Jews."[4]

Under the pretext of revising of history to allegedly come to the "truth" about the genocide against the Jews, people of different ethnic profiles and orientations aligned in a common front. In this "front" we find, "Former Nazi army soldiers such as Warner Rademacher and Wilhelm Stäglich, extreme leftists like Pierre Guillaume and Serge Thion, communists and socialists like Paul Rassinier and Roger Garaudy,[5] liberal intellectuals, conservatives, extreme rightists and neo-Nazis. In it you can find authors of different ethnic backgrounds such as German,

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1 Forence Hartmann, *Paix et chàtiment*, (Peace and Punishment), Flammarion, 2007, p.16

2 Anne-Sophie Paquez, La politique de la France au Kosovo était-elle "gaulliste" ?, p.42 http://www.unige.ch/gsi/files/4914/0351/6343/paquez.pdf

3 First used by the French historian, Henry Rousso, in his book "Le syndrome de Vichy (1944-1987"Le Seuil, coll. « xx^{e} siècle », Paris, 383

4 Yves Ternon, «La problématique du négationnisme», Revue l'Arche, May issue, 2003 see: http://www.imprescriptible.fr/dossiers/ternon/negationnisme

5 This communist philosopher, ateist and a sworn believer of Stalinism, converts to Christianity and after several years of experimenting in this religion he converted to Islam!

French, and British, American, Italian, Swedish, Danish, Swiss, Polish, Russian, Spanish, Moroccan, Jordanian and many other nationalities. However paradoxical it may appear, there are also Jews in this group such as Joseph Ginsburg, Roger-Guy Dommergue, David Cole and Stephen Hayard."[1]

Despite political, ideological or national differences among them, the common denominator of all deniers who review this aspect of World War II's history, is the disavowal of the authenticity of genocide against the Jews. To them, genocide is a contrivance of Allied Propaganda. It is a lie aimed at deceiving the public. The Third Reich wanted to exile the Jews, not liquidate them. Allegations of over a million Jews being killed at Auschwitz are lies to manipulate public opinion. In Auschwitz the maximum number of people who died is 50,000, mostly from typhoid fever. No evidence to prove the existence of gas chambers was ever found. The gas was used to exterminate fleas. No evidence for Crematories exists. If there were burned corpses it was only because of the risk of spreading typhoid fever! Hitler never ordered, nor accepted, that anyone should be killed because of his race or religion. Briefly, the false allegation of genocide is the most tragic and macabre lie of all times."[2]

Although "denialism" emerged in a very specific context, this notion gets a much larger dimension and can serve to analyze the attitudes associated with other cases of genocide denial. For those who are interested, the aforementioned article by Yves Tornon provides a good basis to begin research. In this analysis I will limit myself to some

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[1] Historical Revisionism – International and Independent Scientific Historical Research http://vho.org/Intro/GB/index.html
and «Controverse sur l'extermination des juifs pas les Allemands», (Contradictions related to extermination of Jews by the Germans)
http://archive.org/stream/LaControverseSurLexterminationDesJuifsParLesAllemands/bdf2_djvu.txt

[2] Besides the book " Contradictions related to extermination of Jews by the Germans", sufficient information for the " denialist " logic of those who were seeking "revision of history to correct the lies about the genocide against Jews" the reader, among else, can also find them in these books published on internet: Pierre Vidal-Naquet, "Les assassins de la mémoire" (Killing the Memory) at:
http://www.anti-rev.org/textes/VidalNaquet87c/
and Bernard Comte, "Le génocide nazi et les négationnistes" , (Nazi genocide and denialism) at: http://www.phdn.org/negation/comte/IA.html

conclusions that seem most important in illuminating specific aspects of the topic as it is applied to the Balkans.

According to the comparative analysis carried out by Yves Tornon, during all the phases of committing genocide, concealing the crime preoccupies the criminal. The term "denialism" refers to the entire adopted attitudes and explanations given in order to deny the authenticity of genocide or a crime against humanity. In this view, "The denial of genocide may be considered as an integral part of the crime, intertwined with it, because it determines the strategy of obliteration of truth and memory. "Denialism" does not begin with the criminal conspiracy which designs the killing of a human group, but, after the genocide is committed, and when the truth emerges, "denialism" aims to destroy the conviction related to the crime and introduce doubts about the authenticity of the crime. In conclusion, "denialism" means the organization of a lie in a system, whose function is to avoid direct or indirect liability in committing genocide.[1]

Both in historical terms and in relation to international public opinion, genocide is considered to be the most serious crime possible. In particular, since the tragedy caused to the Jewish people during World War II, this crime carries with it a great symbolic weight in the memory of people throughout the world.

To avoid responsibility for the committed genocide, the propagandistic arsenal of the Milosevic regime and of those who viewed Slobodan Milosevic as the politician who stood up to American imperialism, was developed into a system of denying genocide in Bosnia, Croatia and Kosovo. All the articles, books, TV shows, and conferences aiming to conceal war crimes should be viewed in this context.

As I mentioned earlier, through resolution 47/121, the General Assembly of the United Nations and the World Conference on Human Rights organized upon the request of this Assembly, described the policy

[1] Revue l'Arche, Yves Ternon, "La problématique du négationnisme", May issue, 2003 see: http://www.imprescriptible.fr/dossiers/ternon/negationnisme

of "ethnic cleansing" as a form of genocide and as a serious violation of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.[1]

The description of "ethnic cleansing" as a form of genocide constitutes the main reason for which different authors deny the drafting and implementation of such a plan in Kosovo.

Although, the Serbs themselves published extensive evidence about the "ethnic cleansing" plan in Kosovo, Regis Debray and Jean-Marie Le Pen, Serge Halimi and Bernard Lugan, Jürgen Elsässer and Udo Voigt, Christophe Blocher and Dick Marty, Jean-Arnault Dérens and Xavier Raufer, Pierre Péan, as well as others, tried to explain that the expulsion of Kosovo Albanians was, "Not a political project of the Serbian state, but, a plan created by other intelligence services, in order to blame Serbian leaders that they have allegedly committed premeditated crimes!" Moreover, even in cases when these authors admitted that there were Albanians expelled from Kosovo by the Serbian police, they described it as a result of a military strategy aiming to clear the ground in order to "save Albanian civilians" and to ease their fighting against the KLA.

No matter what the motives of each individual author who denied the genocide in Kosovo, it was clear from their writings and their political views is that they used the same strategies to deny the genocide in Kosovo as Slobodan Milosevic and the official propaganda of his regime.

These political scientists and politicians, sociologists and historians, analysts and journalists, philosophers and criminologists, were convinced that the "Horseshoe Plan" was a forgery. They said that the public had been lied to about the genocide in Kosovo. Now they know there was no genocide, only massacres, which don't resemble genocide.[2]

In a word, to "deniers," the Serbian plan for "ethnic cleansing" in

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[1] Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide was adopted and was nominated for signature and ratification or accession by General Assembly resolution 260 A (III) December 9th 1948. Entered into force on January 12, 1951

[2] Serge Halimi, cited from the show "Les médias pendant la guerre du Kosovo (1/3)" http://www.dailymotion.com/video/x4crrr_les-medias-pendant-la-guerre-du-kos_news

Kosovo never existed because the original document of this plan was not discovered even after the opening of the Yugoslav archives.[1]

Those who were strongly against the NATO intervention, claiming that the military intervention was done without an explicit decision of the United Nations, ignored the UN's Resolution where it is stated explicitly that "ethnic cleansing" is a form of genocide. To these authors, the crime of genocide depended solely on the numbers of people killed. This term, they argued, was reserved only for, "The Indians of the US, the Armenians, the Jews and Rwandans."[2]

Aiming to prove that the number of people killed in Kosovo was small and the their murder cannot be regarded as genocide, the concerned authors attempted to make comparative analysis about the figures mentioned by "NATO-ists"[3] in relation to the number of the exhumed bodies.

To argue that the figures of the "NATO-ists" were exaggerated, in their article entitled "Chronicle of a Declared Genocide,"[4] Serge Halimi and Dominique Vidal expressed their concerns about An official of the American administration who on April 18, 1999 is quoted to have said on the TV channel ABC that maybe tens of thousands of youngsters were executed. And that in the same way the American State Department had stated they possessed no information on the fate of 500,000 Kosovarians. They feared they might have been killed, while a month later, the Secretary of Defense William Cohen had stated that nothing was known about the fate of 100,000 people.[5]

In the previous chapter I mentioned the governmental decision of Belgrade in March 25, 1999 to expel foreign journalists from Yugoslavia. This decision aimed to turn Kosovo into a scene where the Albanian

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1 Serge Halimi & Dominique Vidal me Henri Maler, cited book ,*L'Opinion ça se travaille...*, 2006, p.106

2 Ibid, p.105

3 Neologism for the supporters of NATO

4 Le monde diplomatique, Serge Halimi & Dominique Vidal,"Chronique d'un génocide annoncé", http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/cahier/kosovo/halimi
Article integrated into the work of these same authors l'Opinion, ça se travaille...

5 Serge Halimi & Dominique Vidal me Henri Maler, cited book ,*L'Opinion ça se travaille...*, 2006, p..42

tragedy would be played in a theatre that was closed to the media.

No matter how natural the concern for the lives of people whose fate was in the hands of people who previously had planned and executed the tragedies of Vukovar and Srebrenica, Milosevic's "army" of journalists, political scientists, historians, publicists, politicians of the left and right with a common denominator of anti-Americanism were supposed to manipulate public opinion in Belgrade's favor. In order to lay the groundwork for their propaganda, statements which said, "Nothing was known of the fate of hundreds of thousands of Albanians" were revised by the "anti NATO-ists" as declarations that there were hundreds of thousands people killed.[1]

After the end of the war and the withdrawal of Serbian forces from Kosovo, the publication of an estimation of the total number of the people killed will be used to compare to the figures above.

According to Halimi and Vidal, "The numbers were presented by the foreign office, on June 17, 1999, showing there were approximately 10,000 people killed in Kosovo. This number was to be restated by Clinton on June 25. Bernard Kouchner on August 2nd mentioned a number of 11,000 Kosovarians exhumed.[2] These numbers cited by all the authors." Serge Halimi and Dominique Vidal, who at the time were working as journalists for *Le Monde Diplomatique* were shocked by the August issue where, in a hastily written text, it was asserted that, "Half of the 10,000 alleged victims were exhumed."[3]

In order to trivialize these data, Serge Halimi and Dominique Vidal integrated the complete article published by the newspaper *El Pais* into their work on September 23, 1999, entitled "Spanish police and Forensic Experts Have Not Found Proof of Genocide in the North of Kosovo," and referred to an article by the English philosopher John Laughland[4]

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[1] This is what rhetoricians call a "straw man" argument, where statements from the other side are exaggerated and distorted, thus making them easier to refute.

[2] Serge Halimi & Dominique Vidal and Henri Maler, cited book, *L'Opinion ça se travaille…*, 2006, p.45

[3] Ibid.

[4] Former administrator of British Helsinki Human Rights Group

published on November 20, 1999 in the newspaper *The Spectator*.[1] "According to Spanish police and forensic experts, they had come to the town of Istog[2], ready for the autopsy of 2,000 people and actually they had found only 187 bodies!"[3] On the other hand, John Laughland confirmed that The Hague International Court of Justice had discovered a total of 2,108 bodies, which was 20% of the number presented by the foreign office, 1/50th of the number presented by William Cohen and 1/250th of number presented by the American State Department.[4]

Patrick Barriot, a French army colonel who took part in a mission with the UN troops in Bosnia and Herzegovina, used the same data during the Milosevic trial where he served as a witness summoned for the defense.

In his work *Devils Released from Chains*[5] Patrick Barriot wrote, "The truth is that in the end of 1999 a total of 2,018[6] bodies were found (Serbs and other communities)[7] during the six month investigation conducted by 500 forensic experts from the International Criminal Court." In order to manipulate the number of the victims, Patrick Barriot mentioned the hypothesis of the person in charge of the Spanish forensic team, Emilio Pérez Pujol, who had declared that, "He assessed the final number of the victims to have been 2,500 persons at most. These included the number of the people who died by reasons unknown and whose deaths could not be attributed to any of the camps in particular."[8]

A year after he addressed his letter to the French president, in his book entitled *Emprise* Regis Debray wrote that, "Crimes against humanity do not depend on the number of the victims."[9] However he insists that, "There

[1] Serge Halimi et Dominique Vidal, L'Opinion....p.48-53
[2] Istogu is located on the west of Kosovo, not on north jo, as claimed by "Spanish police and legal expersts who did not find proofs for genocide "!
[3] Serge Halimi & Dominique Vidal me Henri Maler, cited book, *L'Opinion ça se travaille*..., 2006, p.46-48
[4] Ibid, p.48
[5] Patrick Barriot, Les diables sont déchainés: chronique des temps deshuma-nisants, Editions l'Age d'Homme, 2000, p.226
[6] Unlike other authors, this author reduces the number of 2108 to 2018! Perhaps a misprint!
[7] This witness who testified in defense of Milosevic did not even mention Albanians among the victims.
[8] Patrick Barriot, Les diables sont déchainés..., p.222
[9] Regis Debray, l'Emprise, Gallimard, 2000, p.13

was no genocide in Kosovo, that Kosovo is not Bosnia[1] because there some 500 criminologists from different countries discovered two thousand one hundred and eight[2] bodies, and not as many as claimed by the American Secretary of Defense, president Clinton, the British Secret Service, etc."[3] To support the denial of genocide in Kosovo, Regis Debray focuses on newspapers the *Sunday Times*, *The Spectator* and others cited earlier.

Following the publication of information that was supposed to dismiss the figure of 10,000 victims, the "deniers" of genocide in Kosovo continued to expand their numbers. To explain the difference between the figures that referred to tens of thousands killed and 2,108 bodies that were found during that period, Serge Halimi and Dominique Vidal[4] claimed that the "NATO-ists" supported Serbian claims that they lost the crime evidence, including the crematories." To refute the claims of "NATO-ists", these two journalists relied on the writings of two other journalists[5] who on December 31, 1999 wrote in the *Wall Street Journal* that, "Three French gendarmes and speleologist experts had conducted research in the Trepca mine and found no corpses. Another team had analyzed the ashes, and they had found neither teeth remaining, nor traces of burned corpses."[6]

Fifteen years after the war, although it is clearly known what happened in Kosovo, the "deniers" of genocide against Albanians persist in the same old story. From one author to another and from one book to the other they repeated the same phrases and quotes from the same journalists to come to the conclusion that, "No corpses were found in the mine foundries. Also, that no human teeth were ever found. And that no ashes were found." In short, "The concealment of corpses was a lie invented to justify NATO intervention."

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1 Ibid, p.13

2 Unlike others who present numbers, Regis Debray writes the numbers in letters and this is where he differes from others! Otherwise, the references are the same!

3 Regis Debray, cited book, l'Emprise, p.12

4 Other authors have the same approach.

5 Daniel Pearl and Robert Block,

6 Serge Halimi et Dominique Vidal, *L'Opinion, ça se travaille…*, p 55-56

After the fall of Milosevic's government, the new Serbian Prime minister, Zoran Dzindzic, the cover-up concealing facts related to the crimes committed in Kosovo public. However, remnants of the Milosevic regime and the aforementioned "deniers" continue to characterize as a lie, "The concealment of the bodies of civilians killed in Kosovo." Even though the Serbian media published gruesome evidence of the fate of Albanian civilians killed by Serbian forces and then concealed the orders of the Serbian state, the "deniers" who repudiated the genocide in Kosovo insisted on the argument that the hiding of corpses was a fiction by NATO forces to justify the discrepancy in the published figures and the real number of victims. To illustrate, I will discuss a short piece from the Serbian daily, *Vreme*. In the issue of May 31, 2001, this newspaper published the investigative article of journalist Jovan Dulovic entitled "How the Traces of Crime were Concealed."[1] In this article, among others, the author brings details from the report of the working group established by the Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs to clarify the operation "Depth 2."[2] According to this report, a plan emerged In March, 1999, in the cabinet of Slobodan Milosevic, then President of the FRY, in a meeting which included the minister of Interior Affairs at the time, Vlajko Stojiljkovic, the chief of the Department for Public Security in the MIA of Serbia, General Vlastimir Djordjevic, the chief of the Department of State Security, Radomir Marinkovic, and others.[3] In this meeting Milosevic ordered Vlajko Stojiljkovic to undertake all measures in order to hide every trace that could possibly lead to proof of the existence of war crimes. Stojilkovic ordered Vlastimir Djordjevic to take care of exhuming the bodies of the murdered civilians in Kosovo and to conceal them in order to hinder the investigators from The Hague Court from finding them.[4]

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1 Vreme, "Kako su uklanjani tragovi zločina, gde su završili leševi iz hladnjače, da li je postojala "Dubina 1" (How traces of crime were removed, where did the bodies from the freezer disappear, did "Depth 1"exist) No. 543, May 31, 2001
http://www.vreme.com/cms/view.php?id=235705

2 In Serbian "Dubina 2"

3 Journalist asks who stands behind "the others" in the Report of the Working Group of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Serbia.

4 Vreme, cited article: "Kako su uklanjani tragovi zločina..."

Although many people were aware of the operations for concealing the crimes, they were declared to be a state secret. The Serbian journalist, Jovan Dulovic, ended his investigative article with the hypothesis that time would prove whether the regime would ultimately succeed in hiding the crimes committed in Kosovo.

This behavior of the Belgrade rulers is completely understandable given that "In all stages of conducting genocide, the concealment of crime preoccupies the criminal."[1] The objective of such an act by the main leaders of the Milosevic regime was, "The avoidance of direct or indirect responsibility in committing genocide."[2] Some of the authors, citizens of Western countries, may have been influenced by the fact that they were unable to read the numerous articles in the Serbian language about Milosevic's massive cover-up of the facts.

In this case one would normally assume that these Western journalists reached inaccurate conclusions because of their lack of information. Unfortunately, the reality is quite different. The "deniers" of the type of Regis Debray, Serge Halimi, Dominique Vidal, Jürgen Elsässer, Xavier Raufer, Pierre Péan, and Jean-Arnault Dérens were fully aware of the facts, but kept silent aiming to manipulate public opinion.

A single fact proves that these deniers were aware that the bodies of Albanian civilians were destroyed. There were numerous reactions [3] to the regime's efforts to conceal the evidence of this event, but the response of the Serbian humanist, Natasha Kandic, founder and head of the Humanitarian Law Center based in Belgrade, reached the most readers compared to other articles on the same topic. Her article entitled "Mačkatica like Auschwitz"[4] was published both in print and

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[1] Yves Ternon, "La problématique du négationnisme", Revue l'Arche, May issue, 2003 see: http://www.imprescriptible.fr/dossiers/ternon/negationnisme

[2] Ibid.

[3] I will not focus on the article Libération-it,"Charniers de la purification en Serbie" which discusses and same topic. http://www.liberation.fr/evenement/2001/07/03/charniers-de-la-purification-en-serbie_370266

[4] "Mačkatica kao Aušvic", integral text at: http://forum.cdm.me/archive/index.php/t-6219.html

on the web page *Le Courrier des Balkans,* a page created and run by Jean-Arnault Dérens.

In this article translated into French as "Kosovo: Serbian Secret Services have Concealed War Crimes,"[1] Natasha Kandic named the people implicated in the burning of corpses of Albanian civilians in furnaces 4 and 5 of the foundry "Mačkatica" in Surdulica.[2] She covered the chain of command starting with the President of the state, the Prime Minister, the Minister of Internal Affairs, the Head of Public Security, the Head of State Security all the way down to police and security on the local level,

Four months later, the same web page published the article "Kosovo: New Evidence Confirms the Burning of Bodies in Surdulica."[3]

After the publication of substantial evidence of the burning Albanian civilians' bodies, a number of the people implicated in these crimes were silenced. There were also people who publicly apologized. Only a few people implicated in these crimes, or who, through concealing the crimes, thought they had done their "patriotic duty,"[4] continued to defend this suspicious act. When analyzing the case of Bytyqi brothers, I presented the views of Serbian general, Vlastimir Djordjevic, who from his position as head of the Serbian Department of Public Security, was convicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia to 27 years imprisonment. This Serbian general admitted that he felt guilty for his participation in the crimes against Kosovo Albanians and apologized to the families of the Albanians who were killed in Kosovo. He also declared publicly that, "He had no power to oppose his superior, the Minister of

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1 "Kosovo: les services secrets serbes ont couvert les crimes de guerre"
Translated by Thomas Claus
Published on December 30, 2004 and posted on the internet January 4, 2005
http://balkans.courriers.info/article4945.html
you can read the integral text in French language also at:
http://www.radicalparty.org/fr/content/kosovo-les-services-secrets-serbes-ont-couvert-les-crimes-de-guerre

2 City in the south of Serbia

3 Kosovo: de nouveaux témoignages confirment les crémations de corps à Surdulica
April,26, 2005 at: http://balkans.courriers.info/article5399.html

4 Expression used by Nataša Kandić

Internal Affairs of Yugoslavia Vlajko Stojilkovic[1] in the prevention of crimes, and that he felt guilty that he had participated in the concealment of criminal operations."[2]

In a move that was uniquely outrageous, the Serbian police general, Vlastimir Djordjevic, who carried out the order to conceal evidence of the crimes, not only failed to apologize, he asked for a public apology from the Albanians. Only Serge Halimi, Jürgen Elsässer, Jean-Arnault Dérens, Xavier Raufer, Pierre Péan and other "deniers" who disavowed the genocide in Kosovo insisted that the "concealment of corpses" was a fiction of NATO forces. The deniers did not stop there. They gathered and republished all the articles that denied the genocide in Kosovo in order to make their argument that "Discoveries had proven the number of victims to be much smaller compared to what was declared by the supporters of the NATO military intervention." The strategy that produced the story that about 4,000 Albanians and Serbs killed in Kosovo[3] was particularly arrogant on the part of these writers. This move became even more manipulative as the estimate of numbers killed was republished in a different context as a fact. Serge Halimi discussed the implications of this smaller number, saying, "Why we don't celebrate this fact?" He said that this number was not greeted with joy because "This reality was concealed and as a consequence most people have the impression that there was genocide in Kosovo. This is so because it has been stated too many times."[4]

Halimi and his cohort argued that there was no evidence of genocide

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[1] Who on April 11, 2002, on the day when Yugoslavia's Federal Assembly passed the law for cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, publicly committed suicide in front of the Parliament. see:
B92, Vlajko Stojiljković pucao sebi u glavu (Vlajko Stojiljković shot him self in the head)
http://www.b92.net/info/vesti/index.php?yyyy=2002&mm=04&dd=11&nav_id=58055

[2] Kurir, "Priznao krivicu: Vlastimir Đorđević se izvinio žrtvama na Kosovu", (admitted guilt: Vlastimir Djordjevic apologised to the victims of Kosovo)
http://www.kurir-info.rs/priznao-krivicu-vlastimir-dordevic-se-izvinio-zrtvama-na-kosovu-clanak-787765

[3] Serge Halimi, Les médias pendant la guerre du Kosovo (2/3)
http://www.dailymotion.com/video/x4crs7_les-medias-pendant-la-guerre-du-kos_news

[4] Ibid.

and that the opposition tried to make a mountain out of a molehill, or genocide out of a massacre. [1] The Albanians compared the killing of thousands in Kosovo, which was a massacre, with the murder of millions of American Indians, Armenians, Jews, and Rwandans, who were true victims of genocide."[2]

Labeling the Serbian crimes in Kosovo as "massacres" was a calculated maneuver on their part, because this notion is not included in the definition of the crime of genocide.

Even in the re-publication of 2006, seven years after their original book, Serge Halimi and Dominique Vidal reiterated all their original information that focused on the number of victims in Kosovo. In the appendix of their book, Halimi and Vidal said that the number of victims exhumed from mass graves was 3,685, a figure previously mentioned by the International Criminal Court Prosecutor, Carla Del Ponte, at the UN Security Council on November 12, 2000.[3] Halimi and Vidal cited Laurent Joffrin, director of *Liberation* to make their point. "A year after the war ended the director[4] of the major French daily asked, 'Do things really change if there are 4,000 instead of 10,000 confirmed dead people?' To a propagandist the answer is no. To a journalist the answer is yes."[5]

To "real" journalists like Serge Halimi, 3,685 versus 10,000 victims is not just a difference in degree, it is a difference in kind. One is a massacre, and one is genocide. Only a propagandist would say otherwise.

It had been six years since Carla Del Ponte's report, and although her figures have been revised to reflect the real extent of the killings in Kosovo, deniers like Halimi, Vidal, and Joffrin deliberately used the data from 2,000. The purpose of this choice is clear: to minimize the violence of the Serbian regime in Kosovo and support their denial of genocide.

This misinformation was reiterated from book to book, from

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[1] Serge Halimi et Dominique Vidal, cited book, *L'Opinion, ça se travaille*...p.45
[2] Ibid., p.105
[3] Ibid., p. 105
[4] Laurent Joffrin, director of "Libération"
[5] Serge Halimi et Dominique Vidal, *L'Opinion, ça se travaille*...p.105

author to author until the most recent publication of the deniers, *Kosovo: a Just war for a Mafia State,* by Pierre Péan, published in 2013. Even though 14 years had passed since the deniers began their campaign, Péan reiterated his predecessors' claims, and these same lies continued to multiply. Ironically, these naysayers used the same technique Milosevic so righteously denounced during his trial: the continuous repetition of a lie until people believe it. The deniers projected their own strategy onto their opponents, but it is they who have used it to good advantage.

If the number of victims (2,500) that supporters of Milosevic used to denounce NATO's military intervention was incorrect, then reasonable people might credit their argument. This number, published by Serbian sympathizers in 2000 and recycled in 2013 by Pierre Péan, is not even close to reality. The actual extent of the Albanians killed by Serbian forces in Kosovo is 11,840 people, of whom 1,392 were children, 1,739 were women, and 8,709 were men.[1] Even this number may not be accurate, because 1,657[2] people are still missing.

Our discussion of the extent of Serbian war crimes in terms of numbers leads us back to the statement of Spanish forensic team chief, Emilio Pérez Pujol, quoted in the prologue of this chapter: "The Spanish police and forensic experts had gone to the town of Istog prepared to carry out the autopsy of 2,000 persons and in fact they had only discovered 187 bodies!"[3]

Pujol is at best, mistaken. The small town of Istog was under the authority of the 125th Motorized Brigade of the Yugoslav Army at the time. In addition to Istog, the area of operations of this brigade included the territories of Leposavic, Zvecan, Mitrovica, Zubin Potok, Skenderaj, Vushtria, Klina, and Decan. In the entire area where the 125th Brigade operated, 1813 Albanian civilians were killed, and 216 persons are still

[1] http://www.koha.net/arkiva/?page=1,13,145884
[2] http://koha.net/?id=27&l=33139
[3] Ibid., p.46-48

considered missing. Among those killed 236 were children and 327 women.[1]

The Humanitarian Law Center from Belgrade, a Serbian nongovernmental organization, dedicated a special file to the crimes of 125th Brigade and included the numbers cited above, and Albanian sources estimate an even higher number of victims. In addressing this issue, the file dedicated to Brigade 125 and other motorized brigades of the Yugoslav Army is worth exploring in some detail. The complete file describing the crimes of Brigade 125 can be found on the official web page of the Humanitarian Law Center from Belgrade. It reveals that the forensic teams said there were about 2,000 victims in this part of Kosovo, a number that coincides with other contemporary reports. What is misleading about Pujol's report is that his figures come solely from Istog, a very small municipality in western Kosovo, not the entire region that was controlled by the 125th Brigade, as Pujol leads us to believe. The Spanish police and forensic experts' claim that there was no evidence of genocide was inaccurate. Joffrin's misleading report aside, a more fundamental issue apart from the numbers must be addressed if we are to come to a conclusion about whether there the events in Kosovo constituted genocide. This is Laurent Joffrin's question, whether a significant difference in numbers of victims determines if an event is a massacre or genocide. To Joffrin and other supporters of Milosevic, size matters. Joffrin argues that the focus on numbers is the mark of a journalist. According to him, anyone who contends that there are other variables in play is a propagandist. This explains why Milosevic's supporters make such efforts to minimize the number. If number of victims is the sole determinant of genocide, one wonders exactly how many bodies it takes. Is it 10,000, 100,000, 1,000,000 or some other number? Where is the cutoff?

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[1] Fond za humanitarno pravo, Dosije " 125. motorizovana brigada Vojske Jugoslavije", p.1 (File: Motorized Brigade 125 of Yugoslav Army)
http://www.hlc-rdc.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Dosije-125.pdf

Opponents of Milosevic's argued that numbers do not determine whether genocide has been committed; other issues are more critical. Seeing past the regime's insistence on numbers requires a look at the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. The UN General Assembly adopted the resolution that defines what falls into this category of crime on the 9th of December 1948.

Looking more closely at the Genocide Convention is important, if only to see how the "deniers" used the UN resolution to refute genocide in Kosovo.

Article II of this convention offered a practical definition of genocide, the first order of which was to determine what social groups were included. The Convention specifies as potential objects of genocide, national, ethnic, racial, or religious groups. After the potential objects of genocide had been laid out, the convention turned to which acts against these groups were included in this definition. Simply killing members of a particular group is not sufficient to consider a crime genocide. Acts that constitute genocide must be directed at members of a group "as such."[1] In other words, the intent would be to destroy not just a group of people for what they did or what they said, but for what they were.[2] Acts that constitute genocide intend to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group, as such.[3]

Moving from the objects of genocide (national, racial, ethnic or religious groups) to the purpose of genocide (the intent to destroy a

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[1] Original text of the Convention:
http://www.admin.ch/opc/fr/classified-compilation/19994549/201201250000/0.311.11.pdf
Albanian translation is not adequate because Article II misses the phrase "as such", which is essential for qualifying a criminal act as genocide.
http://kosovo.ohchr.org/repository/docs/Konventa_per_Parandalimin_dhe_Denimin_e_Krimit_te_Gjenocidit.pdf

[2] For example, during and prior to World War II, genocide against the Jews included both religious and secular Jews. This was also true of the genocide against Moslems in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[3] Original text of the Convention:
http://www.admin.ch/opc/fr/classified-compilation/19994549/201201250000/0.311.11.pdf
Albanian translation is not adequate because Article II misses the phrase "as such", which is essential for qualifying a criminal act as genocide.
http://kosovo.ohchr.org/repository/docs/Konventa_per_Parandalimin_dhe_Denimin_e_Krimit_te_Gjenocidit.pdf

group or a particular part of the group), the convention turned to the acts that were included in the definition. Considered to be forms of genocide are not only murder, but also the killing members of the group; causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.[1]

While the parts of the definition that specify groups and acts are important, it is the intent with which these actions are committed against particular groups that is most critical in distinguishing genocide from other crimes.

Given the argument of Milosevic's regime and its supporters that the number of victims determines whether an act is a genocide or merely a "massacre," it is vital to point out that nowhere in the resolution does the UN specify a number or a percentage under which the destruction or partial destruction of groups is defined as a crime of genocide. The report of Nicodème Ruhashyankiko, which was published by the Economic and Social Council of the UN, addressed this issue.[2]

Ruhashyankiko noted in his report, "The Study on the issue of Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide," that despite the fact that the purpose of the convention was to prevent and punish acts of genocide directed against a large number of people, nothing prevents that these provisions from being interpreted and applied in the case of individual assassinations. Even when the result is the killing of a single person, the fact that the intention of the criminal is directed against the life of more than one member of a group presents no obstacle to the provisions of the convention to be applied in this case as well.[3]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] United Nations Economic and Social Council, e/cn.4/sub.2/416 July 4, 1978
Nicodème Ruhashyankiko: Study of the question of the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide

[3] Ibid, p.15 &52

However, some authors think that for a crime to qualify as genocide, the act should include a larger number of people. "Some say hundreds of victims, and others thousands of victims,[1] as sufficient to qualify the crime as genocide. The description of the crimes in Kosovo as genocide is not meant to trivialize genocides against other groups of people at different periods across time. Indeed, the Serbian regime's manipulation of the number of murders and its persistent disavowal of any intent to destroy the Kosovo Albanians "as such," trivialize the crimes against them in an attempt to deny the genocide.

The intention to destroy a national, ethnic, racial or religious group constitutes the core of genocide. This intent is what the genocide applied by Hitler's regime against the Jews and the genocide perpetrated by the Milosevic regime against Albanians in Kosovo have in common. The difference lies in the numbers. Admittedly, the extent of genocide in Kosovo is incomparably smaller than that against the Jews during World War II or even than the genocide against the Muslims of Bosnia. That the numbers in Kosovo are not higher is at least in part the result of an awareness of Serbian state leaders that after the NATO intervention, their accountability for crimes against the Albanians was inevitable. The awareness of Belgrade rulers that they would not be able to evade punishment forced them to suspend some operations against the Albanians and to put their efforts into concealing the evidence of their crimes and denying the intention of the government to destroy the Albanians of Kosovo. The criminals of the Belgrade regime and the "deniers" knew that if the intention to destroy the Kosovo Albanians, in whole or in part, was not proved, no ideological or political justification would be sufficient to qualify the crime as genocide. For this reason, the strategy to deny the intention and conceal the evidence of their crimes was transformed into a "system of destroying the truth and the memory... a system of

file:///C:/Documents%20and%20Settings/IBM/Bureau/ruhashyankiko.pdf

[1] Thomas Benages, cited book: *La Convention pour la Prévention*, p.143

destroying the belief associated to the crime and the introduction of doubt about the truthfulness of the crime..."[1]

The main pillars around which this system of lies was articulated were following: the denial of the killing of Albanian civilians in Recak; the denial of the existence of the Horseshoe Plan for ethnic cleansing in Kosovo; the denial of the intention to destroy Kosovo Albanians because of their ethnic identity; the denial of the murder of Albanian civilians; and the minimization of the number of victims of the crime. Slobodan Milosevic denied that the Belgrade authorities intended to destroy the Albanians. He denied that the Serbian military and police forces had killed unarmed civilians and claimed that if there were civilians killed, the culprits were NATO and KLA terrorists or other individuals and groups who were not under Serbian state control.

Like Milosevic, Regis Debray also denied the killing of the Albanian civilians by the Serbian police and military forces and attributed the crimes of 1998 to the KLA, and those of 1999 to "NATO, KLA, and individuals and groups uncontrolled from central Belgrade." Only in relation to the denial of genocide in Kosovo can we understand the French philosopher's motive in dispersing the lie that, "In 1998 1,700 KLA Albanian soldiers, 180 Serbian policemen, and 120 Serbian Soldiers were killed." In this way, Debray reframed the killing of civilians as the inevitable casualties of soldiers in combat. According to Debray, among the 2,000 dead were members of the armed forces of both parties; there were no civilian casualties during this combat operation. Even if the event in Recak had been a battle between armies, it took place in a village, and a few civilian casualties would have been likely, so the denial of any civilian casualties whatsoever is suspicious. Still, when it comes to civilian casualties, a category of great concern internationally, Regis Debray, being "unbiased," attempted to deflect attention from dead civilians at the hands of the Serbs, dispersing information from Milosevic's strategic

[1] Yves Ternon, "La problématique du négationnisme", Revue l'Arche, May issue, 2003 see: http://www.imprescriptible.fr/dossiers/ternon/negationnisme

headquarters that the KLA had "Kidnapped 380 persons, of whom 103 were released, while others had died or gone missing." Although Vuk Draskovic and other public figures in Serbia publicly condemned the strategy of the Belgrade authorities to kill innocent civilians and blame the KLA for these crimes, Regis Debray attempted to discredit the name of this political opponent of Milosevic by alleging that Draskovic told him that, "Around 300 individuals who were not under Serbian control were arrested and indicted for the violence they used in Kosovo."

The story of the indictment of 300 individuals who committed crimes against Albanian civilians in Kosovo was spread by the Serbian secret services (military and police), while in the Western media, intellectuals like Regis Debray and others, driven solely by their anti-Americanism, published the same story. Thirteen years later, the truth about these indictments came out. In a public statement for *TV Mreza* on June 12 2012, Serbian general Bozidar Delic, who after retiring in 2004 joined the Serbian Radical Party, admitted that the ones culpable for the murders of civilians in Recak were Serbian military, saying that, "He had himself signed 300 criminal charges against soldiers and superiors who were under his command at the time."[1]

During the time of the Kosovo war, Bozidar Delic was the commander of the Motorized Brigade 549 of the Yugoslav Army. According to his claims, "During 1998 and 1999 soldiers of the brigade 549 killed eight civilians!"[2]

The lies about raising criminal charges against 300 members of Brigade 549 for the killing of eight Albanian civilians aimed at two objectives: first, to deny the fact that the killing of Albanians was

[1] TV Mreza - Slucaj Dikovic (Tv Mreza-Rasti Dikovic)
Full statement can be watched at:
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rj1GPyhKGos&list=UUKDo30nD-0KCYs8DVlDd-eg&index=8&feature=plcp
Cited statement from the Humanitarian Law Center,
Fond za humanitarno pravo, Dosije"549. motorizovana brigada Vojske Jugoslavije", p.6
http://www.hlc-rdc.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/Dosijea-549.-Motorizovana-brigada-Vojske-Jugoslavije.pdf

[2] File Brigade 549..., p.11

an explicit intention of Serbian police and military forces as part of a systematic plan for changing the demographic structure of Kosovo, and second, was to minimize the magnitude of crimes and to conceal evidence.

Some 13 years after the end of the war, Bozidar Delic, the Commander of Brigade 549, who became the Vice President of the Parliament of Serbia and a member of the "Committee for Kosovo," spread the lie that Brigade 549 killed only eight Albanian civilians. It is not a coincidence that out of 300 criminal charges brought by Delic, not a single individual was sentenced, not even for the murder of the eight assassinated Albanians Delic acknowledged, much less for the many murdered civilians that were the subject of the regime's cover-up. "Not even one member of this brigade, be it the executers, be it the superiors of Brigade 549 was held responsible for the killings in Kosovo."[1]

To reveal the truth to the Serbian public, The Humanitarian Law Center published the *File on the Motorized Brigade 549 of the Yugoslav Army*.[2]

According to data from this Serbian nongovernmental organization, Brigade 549, operating in the municipalities of Prizren, Gjakovo, Rahovec and Suhareka, was not only responsible for the eight assassinated Albanians, but also "This brigade was responsible for the killing of 2,174 Albanian civilians. Of this number, 459 bodies were found in mass graves in Serbia[3] while 375 people are still considered missing."[4]

The Humanitarian Law Center's file describes the horrors that this Brigade caused in Kosovo and provides details of the killing operations in eight villages. In all the cases of the mass crimes described in this

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1 File Brigade 549..., p.10

2 Fond za humanitarno pravo, Dosije"549. motorizovana brigada Vojske Jugoslavije", p.6 http://www.hlc-rdc.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/Dosijea-549.-Motorizovana-brigada-Vojske-Jugoslavije.pdf

3 From mass graves in the Batajnica (near Belgrade) 429 corpses were exhumed, while from Peruće mass graves were exhumed 30 bodies of Albanian civilians. The data are from the Humanitarian Law Center

4 File Brigade 549..., p.3 http://www.hlc-rdc.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/Dosijea-549.-Motorizovana-brigada-Vojske-Jugoslavije.pdf

file, the actions commenced in the early morning hours. Between 03:00-06:00 hours, police and military forces besieged villages and shelled houses with heavy artillery, tanks, and their entire arsenal of weaponry. At the end, small groups of three to five soldiers entered homes harassing, demeaning, and intimidating in the most brutal of ways, the Albanians who survived the shelling. Some were killed in front of their families, while others were taken outside and shot. The soldiers looted everything valuable that could be carried, destroyed people's identity documents, and selected and separating men and children over 13 from the women and younger children. Women, young children, and the elderly were deported to Republic of Albania. Those who were held were humiliated, abused and finally executed in groups. In the end, the soldiers burned the bodies or transported them to mass graves in hidden locations.[1]

The file began with the case of the civilians who were killed in the village of Bellacerka, where 65 Albanian civilians died. Out of 54 exhumed bodies, 47 were male, including three children, and seven were female of whom four were young girls.[2] The Section of Legal Medicine of the University of Glasgow, Scotland conducted the autopsies of these bodies. In the file, particular emphasis was given to the Zhuniqi and Spahiu families of this village. "Five members of the Zhuniqi family (Clirim, Lumturie, Dhurata, Dardane and Dardan), and seven members of the Spahiu family (Xhemajl, Qamile, Fiqirie, Ilirjana, Marigona, Labinot and Lirim) were killed in this village. From these two families there was only one survivor, the 4 year old child, Shkodran Zhuniqi."[3]

The intention to destroy a part of the Albanians in order to decrease their number in Kosovo did not spare even people with disabilities[4].

In the village of Celina, in a similar scenario, 81 Albanian civilians

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1 File Brigade 125, among others also on p.1
2 File Brigade 549, p.14
3 File Brigade 549, p.12
4 As in the case with the disabled Mustaf Morina from Bellacerka or the case with the two paralyzed from village Krusha Vogel (Liman and Sahit Jasharin) File Brigade 549, p.13 and p.19.

Serbian soldiers separated four adolescent males from the line of women and children and forced them to join the group of men.
They were the brothers Burim and Lirim Batusha, and brothers Visar and Enver Batusha.

were executed.[1] Out of 78 bodies that were found after the withdrawal of Serbian forces from Kosovo, 18 were completely burned.[2]

Among the people who were killed, 13 were children under 18 years of age. The real tragedy struck the Zeqiri family from this village whose eight children were killed: 18-month-old Alma, five-year-old Alban, eight-year-old Bledar, ten-year-old Besart, eleven-year-old Albulena, eleven-year-old Suzana, 13-year-old Burbuqe, and 16-year-old Nazlie. Alongside the Zeqiri family, five other children were also killed: eight-year-old Ramazan Salihu, 14-year-old Alban Rexhepi, 15-year-old Bedrush Hasani, 15-year-old Mejreme Salihu, and 17-year-old Gëzim Salihu.[3]

[1] File Brigade 549, p.15
[2] File Brigade 549, p.19
[3] File Brigade 549, p.17

On the main road of the village of Mala Krusha men were separated from women and children. Boys aged over 13 years were ordered to join the group of men.

The selection of men and children over 13 years old was only one side of the Serbian genocide. There were many cases where whole families were killed. One such case is the Gergjaliu family from the village Lower Studime, in Vushtria. On May 31st 1999, Serbian forces executed 49-year-old Selatin, his 74-year-old mother Salihe, his 39-year-old wife Fexhrije, and their 7 children: seven-year-old Sabahudin, eight-year-old Muberane, 10-year-old Abdurrahim, 11-year-old Mexhit, 14- year-old Muharrem, 15-year-old Shahin, and 16-year-old Shaban.

There were 120 Albanian civilians in Mala Krusha. This number included 13-year-old Mehmet Shehu, 13-year-old Xhelal Shehu, and 72-year-old Abdyl Baliu.[1] These three were put in a barn belonging to Qazim Batusha and were machine gunned through the windows for several minutes. Then the barn was checked and anyone who gave signs of life was shot again. In the end the corpses were burned.[2]

The same kind of crime also occurred in the village of Great Krusha. In the barn belonging to Selami Elshani, 18 civilians were killed, and their bodies were covered with hay and then set on fire.[3] According to the Humanitarian Law Center, in other places in this village Serbian forces killed a total of 204 Albanian civilians.[4]

Some 15 women and girls had sheltered inside the house of Musli Gashi. They were all executed. The Humanitarian Law Center, on page 25 of this file, gives the names of these executed women. After the killings, the logistics battalion took away the bodies of the women and girls and buried them in mass graves in the region of Dragash. In the village of Ternje, the Serbian forces killed 36 Albanian civilians. The bodies of 20 people

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1 File Brigade 549, p.19

2 File Brigade 549, p.20, Page 21 of the File for the crimes of Brigade 549 presents the names of 111 executed civilians in this barn.

3 File Brigade 549, p.23

4 p.24 Albanian sources present information of 241 killed civilians

Photo: Selatin Gergjaliu with his children: (from the left) Mexhit, Shaban, Abdyrrahim, Mubera, Shahin and Muharrem. Sabahudin, Fexhrija and Salihja are not pictured in the photo of the family killed during the times of the Serbian genocide policy in Kosovo

Graves of the Gergjaliu family

who were killed in this village are still missing.[1] In Landovica, 17 Albanian civilians were executed in the same way.[2] In Lubizhda in the Hasi region, 53 civilians were killed.[3] In the village of Meja, 277 civilians were killed, and in the village of Koretica, 67.[4]

In short, the lies that 300 criminal charges were brought, and the reduction of the number of the people killed to eight was done in order to avoid direct or indirect liability in this genocide. Still, the developments in the 15 years following the end of the war lead us to the unfortunate conclusion that the Milosevic regime fulfilled its plan. If that were not enough, "Not even one member of this brigade was held responsible for the killing of 2174 Albanian civilians in the municipalities of Prizren, Gjakova, Rahovec and Suhareka. On the contrary, the leaders[5] of the 549th Brigade were all promoted to higher ranks."[6]

Despite all of the evidence, defenders of the Milosevic Regime and the other "deniers" of genocide in Kosovo, continue to claim that the killings were not committed by anyone who worked for the central government in Belgrade, even in cases when Serbian forces are blamed for killing Albanian civilians. The Serbian NGO Humanitarian Law Center addressed this issue. They compiled material, entitled *The File of Lubisa Dikovic,* which discussed the crimes of the 37th Motorized Brigade of the Yugoslav Army[7] and the government's claim that any killing of civilians was done by someone other than forces controlled by Belgrade.

The report told the story of the 37th Motorized Brigade of the Yugoslav Army stationed in Rashka under the command of Lubisha Dikovic.[8] Some combat units of this brigade had been present in Kosovo since May 1998.

1 File Brigade 549, p.26
2 File Brigade 549, p.27
3 File Brigade 549, p.28
4 File Brigade 549, p.35 those interested in details, pages 36-37 of the File for Brigade 549 present the names of the executed.
5 Pages 37-40 of File Brigade 549, Humanitarian Law Center delivers the names of the chain of command implicated in these crimes.
6 File Brigade 549..., p.10
7 Fond za humanitarno pravo, Dosije Diković Ljubiše, (Dosja e Lubiša Diković-it) http://www.hlc-rdc.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/Januar-23-2012-Dikovic-Ljubisa-Dosije.pdf
8 a city in the south of Serbia.

Before these units were sent to Kosovo many officers of the Brigade, in particular Lieutenant Colonel Slobodan Stoisic and Miodrag Djordjevic, recruited and trained groups of convicted criminals.

At the request of the military and the secret service police, the courts released many criminals convicted for murder into their command. Lieutenant Colonel Stoisic equipped these people with uniforms, conventional weapons, chemical weapons, and other equipment for executions. The convicts were also supplied with proper documents and identification belonging to Military Security.[1] They were integrated into the military security service under the command of Slobodan Stoisic and Miodrag Djordjevic,[2] and after finishing their training in July 1998, they were sent to Kosovo as part of the 37th Brigade.

On March 7, 1999, a few days before the end of the talks at the International Conference of Rambouillet, the remainder of the 37th Brigade was transferred to Kosovo. Their job was to act as fire support for the infiltration of military and police units into Albanian villages. Once there, the units committed mass executions of Albanian civilians while looting and destroying property.[3]

The complete transfer of this Brigade from Rashka to Kosovo was an indicator that the Belgrade regime intended to continue the implementation of their plan for genocide in Kosovo.

Like Brigade 549, Brigade 37 started their operations in the early morning hours, shelling with their entire arsenal of weapons. Then small groups of soldiers and policemen burst into Albanian houses, looting property and abusing the residents. They dragged the villagers who survived the shelling from their homes and selected people to be killed from those to be deported from Kosovo. A small sample of the cases described in the files of the Humanitarian Law Center is enough to give the reader an idea of what Albanians suffered at the hands of

[1] Fond za humanitarno pravo, Dosije Diković Ljubiše, (Dosja e Lubiša Diković-it), p.2 http://www.hlc-rdc.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/Januar-23-2012-Dikovic-Ljubisa-Dosije.pdf

[2] Fond za humanitarno pravo, Dosije Diković Ljubiše, (Dosja e Lubiša Diković-it), p. 2

[3] Fond za humanitarno pravo, Dosije Diković Ljubiše, (Dosja e Lubiša Diković-it), p. 4

Brigade 37. The full details of the crimes committed by Serbian forces in Kosovo can be found in the relevant files on the official web page of the Humanitarian Law Center based in Belgrade.[1]

In the village of Kozhica, Serbian forces trapped 119 women, young girls, and children in one villager's house. Some 31 women and children were locked in on the ground floor. Then the Serbians brought 88 additional Albanian children, and locked 28 on the ground floor and 60 on second floor. From these groups, 27 women, some of them pregnant,[2] and children were selected and taken to the village of Qirez. The women were raped and murdered. Five young girls: 19-year-old Zahide Xhema, 20-year-old Lumnie Zymberi, 20-year-old Antigona Dibrani, 20-year-old Bukurie Dibrani, 17-year-old Mirishahe Dibrani, and three women: Miradije Dibrani, Tahire Shllaku, and Fahrije Ademi were thrown into the three wells of the village Qirez. Their bodies were discovered in July 1999.[3]

Pages five to eight of the The Humanitarian Law Center's file on Ljubisa Dikovic reveal details of the execution of 250 Albanian civilians. Twenty-five of those executed were juveniles, whose names are on page eight of this file. Out of the 25 juveniles, 24 bodies were found. Nuredin Dvorani, born on May 28 1982, was never found and is still considered missing.[4]

In the village of Verboc, the same scenario occurred. The shelling began in the early morning hours. Horrified villagers tried to hide in the forest near the village, but Serbian police and military penetrated the village and continued the search in the forest during the day. Finally, to flush out the fugitives, Serbian forces set fire to the forest and executed the villagers as they ran from the flames. A total of 92 Albanian civilians

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1 Humanitarian Law Center, Dossiers
http://www.hlc-rdc.org/?cat=290&lang=de
Files are in English and Serbian Language.

2 File mentions Fahrije Zymberi and Violeta Shalaku who were in their eightth month of pregnancy. Dosije Diković Ljubiše 37, p.5, footnote 11.

3 Fond za humanitarno pravo, Dosije Diković Ljubiše, (Dosja e Lubiša Diković-it), p. 5

4 Fond za humanitarno pravo, Dosije Diković Ljubiše, (Dosja e Lubiša Diković-it), p. 8

from this village were killed.[1] The villages of Dashec, Baks, Cikatova, Vjeter and Izbica suffered the same fate.

Lubisa Dikovic was the commander in charge and a direct participant in these genocidal acts. In addition to his culpability in the killings, he was also the one who profited most from the looting of the property of Kosovo Albanians. In the file on the crimes of the 37th Motorized Brigade of the Yugoslav Army, it is noted that, "Thousands of vehicles, busses, trucks and tractors were stolen from the Kosovo Albanians and sold in Novi Pazar and Rashka.[2] Lubisa Dikovic acquired an expensive British Land Rover and a Mercedes 300, and became the owner of thousands of head of cattle that were stolen from Albanian villagers."[3]

After the withdrawal of forces from Kosovo on June 16 1999, Slobodan Milosevic decorated Lubisa Dikovic with the medal of a "National Hero."[4] This was not the full extent of the rewards for his actions against Albanians in Kosovo. On December 12, 2011, the President of the Republic of Serbia, Boris Tadic, appointed Lubisa Dikovic to the position of Chief of the General Staff of the Serbian Army. At the same time, the Serbian President proposed autonomy for Kosovo under the jurisdiction of Serbia. Dick Marty and other deniers of genocide in Kosovo considered Boris Tadic to be a democratic leader of a new Serbia. Instead, his proposal for Serbian control of an "autonomous" Kosovo is disingenuous, and his appointment of the criminal Lubisa Dikovic as commander of the Serbian Army is compelling evidence of his intent to run the "new" Serbia much like the old one. Clearly, Tadic was fully involved in hiding and denying the genocide that the state applied against Kosovo Albanians.

The Humanitarian Law Center's file on the crimes committed in

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1 Fond za humanitarno pravo, Dosije Diković Ljubiše, (File of Lubisa Dikovic), p. 9-10 (names of the victims published on page 10)

2 Two cities in south Serbia

3 Fond za humanitarno pravo, Dosije Diković Ljubiše, (file of Lubisa Dikovic), p.4

4 E-Novine, FHP optužuje generala Ljubišu Dikovića, "Načalnik Generalštaba-heroj ili zlikova" (Chief of General Staff –a hero or a criminal)
http://www.e-novine.com/srbija/vesti/57638-Naelnik-Generaltaba---heroj-ili-zlikovac.html

the operational zone of the 125th Motorized Brigade reveals that 1,813 Albanian civilians were killed in the small municipalities of Leposaviq, Zvecan, Mitrovica, Zubin Potok, Skenderaj, Vushtri, Klina, Istog and Decan alone. In addition, 216 people are missing and likely dead. Among the victims 236 were children and 327 women.[1]

This file also contains information about the mass killings in the villages of Oshlan, Dubrava, Obri, Skenderaj, Lubeniq, Krelan, Staradran, Qyshk, Pavlan and Zahaq.

In spite of the magnitude of their crimes, not one member of the 125th was held responsible either for acts committed by them personally or for their command of the forces that committed the crimes. In pages 6 and 7 of this file the Humanitarian Law Center published the names of the people in the chain of command of the 125th Brigade who were responsible for the crimes.

In short, the crimes committed in Kosovo were not at all outside the control of Serbian political, military and police structures, but were a result of a meticulous plan aiming at the destruction of Albanians as a people and at a fundamental alteration of the ethnic structure of the population of Kosovo. These acts of violence committed by Serbian forces against Kosovo Albanians, the killings, injuries, abuses, rapes, humiliations, violation of physical and mental integrity, and their expulsion from Kosovo without documents (thus preventing their return) were intended to bring about the complete annihilation of the Albanian population in Serbia solely because of their ethnic background.

Systematic killing of unarmed civilians, killing of children, women and the elderly who posed no military threat whatsoever and demonstrated no resistance to their expulsion from Kosovo was proof of the genocidal intent of the Belgrade government. In addition to the killings, which aimed at the physical destruction of the Kosovo Albanians,

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[1] Fond za humanitarno pravo, Dosije "125. motorizovana brigada Vojske Jugoslavije", p.1 http://www.hlc-rdc.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Dosije-125.pdf

Serbian forces also committed the crime of "biological genocide."[1] This form of genocide contributes in the annihilation of a population and in a considerable change of the demographic structure of a country, often without causing visible damages in humans.

In accordance with the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, damage to the physical and mental integrity of members of a national, ethnic, racial or religious group constitutes an act of genocide. Today, no one can dispute the fact that the rape and sexual abuse of a woman constitutes serious violation of her physical or mental integrity. The rapes in Bosnia, Croatia and Kosovo, particularly brutal and violent, were used as a modern tool of war and aimed at causing irreparable damage to group members.[2] Rape and sexual violence constitute a violation of the Convention because in addition to whatever immediate physical injuries may accompany it, rape causes extreme longstanding trauma and permanent psychological wounds to the victim.

In his book entitled *The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in the trial of the International Criminal Court for the former Yugoslavia,* Thomas Benages points out that, "Rape is a weapon for destruction of women as a reproductive group, aiming to produce an undesired child. This forms the basis of genocidal criminalization because it is expressed in the form of measures aimed at preventing later births within a group."[3]

Based on the fact that rape is a serious violation of the physical and mental integrity of the victim, the International Criminal Court for Rwanda described rape as a form of genocide. In the following I will discuss the position of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former

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[1] Biological genocide consists of imposing measures calculated to decrease the reproductive capacity of the group, such as involuntary sterilization or forced segregation of the sexes. http://www.carnegiecouncil.org/publications/archive/dialogue/2_12/section_1/5139.html

[2] Thomas Benages, La Convention pour la Prévention et la Repression du Crime de Génocide à l'epreuve du Tribunal Pénal International pour l'Ex-Yougoslavie, p.152 (integral text at: http://tel.archives-ouvertes.fr/docs/00/66/25/79/PDF/2005CLF10281.pdf)

[3] Ibid., p. 155

Yugoslavia regarding this matter.

Only the "deniers" of the genocides in Bosnia, Croatia and Kosovo argue that rape does not constitute an act of biological genocide. During the war in Kosovo more than 20,000 Albanian women were raped.[1] In the case of Kosovo, rape was not just an inevitable by-product of a conquering army. These rapes were planned at the highest levels of the Serbian military structure. The goal was to destroy the female element as a symbol of the biological continuity of this ethnic group. Women who became pregnant as a result of these rapes were seen by the Belgrade regime as increasing the Serbian rather than the Albanian population. Moreover, these acts were aimed at removing women as future mothers and to put a stop to the very foundation of the group's continuity. There does not need to be millions of victims in order to define crimes against a particular group as genocide. The killing of 1,392 Albanian children, the killing of 1,739 Albanian women, the killing of around 10,000 additional Albanian civilians of all ages, the rape of 20,400 Albanian women, and the disappearance of some 1,657 civilian bodies prove that the Serbian forces applied physical and biological genocide in Kosovo. It was not only people of Serbian political, military and police force structures who were implicated in the crime of genocide. Members of Milosevic's regime who covered up the evidence of genocide were also guilty. Finally, the "deniers" who, blinded by their anti-American ideology, minimized these war crimes and described them as random, unpremeditated acts that if unfortunate, were not unexpected in the case of a conquering army were also implicated. According to the deniers, the aim to destroy ethnic Albanians as a people through killings, rapes, and evictions was not deliberate on the part of the Serbian regime. Ultimately, any discussion of this contested issue must include a consideration of the Serbian ethnic cleansing plan. To the deniers who repudiated the charge that Serbia applied a policy of genocide, there was no ethnic cleansing in Kosovo.

[1] http://koha.net/arkiva/?page=1,13,145884

To the deniers, this story was a fabrication of NATO-ists to justify their aggression against a sovereign country. According to the deniers, the displacement of the Albanian population was a humane method of clearing the terrain in order to fight the KLA.[1] The purpose of this displacement was "to protect the Albanian civilians," especially in villages where the KLA was merging with the civilian population.[2] Several different authors made this argument, but the essence of the message was that the Belgrade regime did not intend to annihilate Albanians "as such," neither as a whole nor as a part; they were only fighting the "terrorist" KLA. This interpretation of events was designed to represent the violence in Kosovo as retaliation against NATO intervention by individuals or groups that were not in the control of Milosevic's government and were certainly not part of a plan to destroy the Kosovo Albanian population. In addition to denying the intent to destroy the Kosovo Albanians as a population, the spokesmen of the Milosevic's regime and their advocates from different intellectual profiles, tried by all the means at their disposal to reduce the number of murders to the minimum.

Even if they had been successful in minimizing the killings, under the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, the killings were only one form of possible genocidal actions. For this reason, in addition to simple murder, the convention emphasizes the notion of physical or biological destruction[3] of a group.

In applying this to Kosovo, the French historian and political scientist, Jacques Sémelin describes the ongoing controversy about the number of people killed after the intervention of NATO as a simplistic and short-sighted way to look at genocide. According to Jacques Sémelin's, "This

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[1] Jean-Arnauld Derens, "Le piège du Kosovo", Editions Non Lieu, 2008, p. 136

[2] See letter of Regis Debray

[3] Which "as a term is much broader then 'killing', because it entails the practices of demolition and burning of houses, religious buildings, cultural buildings in order to destroy the presence of the other-the enemy"
see: Semelin Jacques, Du massacre au processus génicidaire
(From massacres to genocidal process) https://www.unitar.org/ny/sites/unitar.org.ny/files/procgenocid.pdf

estimation[1] of the consequences of the operation of purifying an ethnic[2] group is too limited to represent the reality of the destruction caused in Kosovo since 1998 [if not since 1990]. It is too limited to reflect the number of missing, displaced families, raped women, destroyed houses, and other crimes."[3]

In order to refute the definition of the UN General Assembly that "ethnic cleansing" constituted a form of genocide, the "deniers" Jean-Arnauld Derens and Cathrine Samary tried to move the debate into a discussion of semantics. In French, there are two terms that applied to the controversy: "purification ethnique"[4] and "nettoyage ethnique."[5] Although these authors emphasize that there is only one word for this act in English, "ethnic cleansing," and in Croatian and Serbian, "etničko čišćenje," the French language, according to Derens and Samary, "Differentiates between these two terms in accordance with the intention of the undertaken actions." The term "purification ethnique" is related to the eugenic and racist policy, as in the purification of the Arian race, which did not aim at the expulsion of Jews and Roma, but their transfer to death camps in order to banish the "parasites" from the earth. This action is genocidal in nature because of its intent. On the other hand, according to Derens and Samary, the expression "nettoyage ethnique" is used in cases of force rather than mass extinction. This could mean various forms of humiliation including rape, and is considered a war crime by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. Also included in the latter term are selective killings in order to reach national homogenization of the territory. The essence of the violence in the former Yugoslavia was not "ethnic cleansing" of a race, but "ethnic freeing" of their territories. The primary intention of the violence was

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1 Statistics for 3000, 10.000, 100.000 killed do not express the real extent of destruction in Kosovo, says this author.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 Ethnic cleansing
5 Ethnic freeing

Soldiers "protected" from the risk of infection.

not the extinction of a nation, but its expulsion.[1] In short, according to Derens and Samary, there was no genocide, neither in Croatia and Bosnia, nor in Kosovo.

Limiting the crime of genocide to the physical extinction of a nation and the concealment of that physical extinction is their basis for the denial of genocide in Kosovo. Although the resolutions and positions of UN define “ethnic cleansing” as a genocide, Jean-Arnauld Derens and Cathrine Samary concluded that in Croatia, Bosnia and Kosovo there was no “ethnic cleansing,” but “ethnic freeing,” that is, a national homogenization of the territory. Jean-Arnauld Derens and Cathrine Samary seem to have overlooked the point that Milosevic’s policy on “ethnic cleansing” was not carried out in France, but in Serbia. The policy on “etničko čišćenje”[2] was a policy aiming genocide in Croatia, Bosnia and Kosovo. Ultimately, the semantic differences at the center of Jean-Arnauld Derens and Cathrine Samary’s argument are neologisms that have little meaning outside the context of their campaign of denial.

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[1] Jean-Arnauld Derens &Cathrine Samary, cited book *Les 100 portes des Conflits Yougoslaves*, p.238-239

[2] Serbian expression on the policy of ethnic cleansing

There is no essential difference between the "deniers" who claim that the Jews died of typhoid and not from the German Nazi genocide and the "deniers" who claim that Serbia did not apply genocide in Kosovo. Indeed, the intellectual deniers of genocide may next try to justify the masks of Serbian armed military and police forces as preventive measures against typhoid rather than an attempt to hide the identity of the perpetrators. Furthermore, they could also claim that the burning of Kosovo Albanian corpses was for disease prevention and not to cover up their crimes.

In addition to relying on the term "nettoyage ethnique" to claim that Serbia did not intend physical extinction of Croatians, Bosnian Muslims, or Kosovo Albanians, the deniers add the "fact" that Milosevic never admitted to having had such an intention and that the document of the regime's plan for ethnic cleansing was not discovered even after the disclosure of the Yugoslav archives.[1] This is the same strategy used by Holocaust deniers who negated the genocide against Jews by virtue of the fact that a special order for the annihilation of Jews in Europe, given by Hitler, was never discovered."[2] Any deniers who negate the genocide in Kosovo rely on the "fact" that there is no evidence that proves this intent of the Belgrade regime specifically. Deniers of genocide towards Kosovo Albanians insist that claims that Milosevic's regime applied genocide are war propaganda used to justify the military intervention of NATO. In support of this thesis they insist that if these plans had existed, they would have been revealed after the overthrow of Milosevic's government and the opening of the archives.[3]

However, the issue of direct evidence that would prove genocidal intent is more complicated than just the opening of archives. In this context the written testimony of Florence Hartmann, spokesperson of Carla Del Ponte, the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, is relevant.

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[1] Serge Halimi & Dominique Vidal me Henri Maler,*L'Opinion ça se travaille*...Agon, 2006, p.106
[2] Florence Hartmann, cited book, *Paix et châtiment*, p.125
[3] Serge Halimi & Dominique Vidal me Henri Maler, cited book,*L'Opinion ça se travaille...p*.106

In her work *Peace and Punishment* she emphasized that, "Serbian officials were convinced that the archives of the Supreme Defense Council of Yugoslavia could lead to the conviction of Serbia for genocide."[1] To illustrate this claim, Florence Hartmann presented the position of the Serbian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Goran Svilanovic, who on October 3 2003, in the office of Carla Del Ponte, tried to justify his reasons for refusing to hand over the archives of the Supreme Defense Council of Yugoslavia. During this meeting Goran Svilanovic said that, "If we help you convict Milosevic for genocide, then our country would also be convicted by International Court of Justice for genocide, and we would have to pay billions of dollars in damages."[2]

The new leaders of Belgrade openly stated that their "vital national interest" was to conceal from the International Court of Justice any information that might incriminate Serbia in genocidal crimes. What is even more abhorrent is how closely Vojislav Kostunica's strategy to conceal facts about Serbian genocide in Croatia, Bosnia, and Kosovo is related to the self-serving position of the Belgrade government that, "The truth and justice undermine stability in the region and act against peace."[3]

However, the concealment of evidence of genocide by the Belgrade authorities may be conceivable in order for the Milosevic's regime structures to continue functioning even within the "new" government, but what is inconceivable is the agreement of the judges of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia in collusion with the Serbian authorities to keep evidence hidden from the International Court of Justice and the public.

Florence Hartmann denounced the agreement and for the first time, the publication of specific information related to this hypocrisy of international justice appeared. Nobody contradicted the authenticity of the agreement between The Hague Tribunal and Serbia. The Hague Tribunal,

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[1] Florence Hartmann, cited book *Paix et chàtiment*, p.118
[2] Ibid., p.118
[3] Ibid., p.118

which filed an indictment against Florence Hartmann for the publication of confidential documents, did not deny the truth of her accusation that they colluded with the Serbian regime in concealing crime evidence. However, for publishing details of this agreement, especially in pages 120 to 122 of the publication in the French language,[1] Florence Hartmann was charged with an offense and fined 7,000 Euros.[2]

The indictment and conviction of Florence Hartmann was supposed to act as an intimidation measure for those who did not accept political bargaining at the expense of justice. Readers who are interested in details about this charge can learn more on the website of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia.[3]

The book *Peace and Punishment* by Florence Hartmann provides a good opportunity for the reader to become familiar with the political pressure that was exerted on the International Criminal Court to relieve Serbia of genocide charges. Arrangements for suppressing the Serbian state involvement in genocide in Croatia, Bosnia, and Kosovo could not stop the emergence of the fact that Milosevic not only was the co-author of the deadly program of ethnic cleansing and a war architect, but he was also a participant all the way to the end.[4]

Despite this, Serbian deniers who supported the old regime continued to deny the genocide in order to avoid the consequences of further investigation, and anti-American Western writers denied the genocide in Kosovo to gainsay their political opponents who supported NATO intervention. This ideological blindness led them to claim that the opening of the archives after the victory of Vojislav Kostunica revealed that the Serbian plan for ethnic cleansing in Kosovo had not existed at all.[5]

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1 Pages 113-115 Albanian print

2 International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia IT-02-54-R77.5 http://www.icty.org/x/cases/contempt_hartmann/cis/fr/cis_hartmann_fr.pdf

3 ONU, TPIY, Hartmann (IT-02-54-R77.5) http://www.tpiy.org/case/contempt_hartmann/27

4 Florence Hartmann, cited book *Paix et châtiment*, p.115

5 Serge Halimi & Dominique Vidal me Henri Maler, cited book *L'Opinion ça se travaille…* , p.106

In 2008, just when the Hague Tribunal convicted Florence Hartmann and a year after the publication of her book, the former prosecutor of the tribunal, Carla Del Ponte, published her own book called *The Hunt: Me and the War Criminals*. In this book, Ponte confirmed the assertions of her spokesperson regarding the strategic failure of the new government in Belgrade to hand over the archives of the Supreme Defense Council. In particular, chapter 8 of this book entitled "Belgrade: 2003 and 2004,"[1] described a series of official meetings in which Belgrade authorities developed different strategies to delay submitting any evidence of genocide.

Serbia, contrary to its responsibilities as a state, did not deliver sections from the archives that would have proven unequivocally that this state had applied genocide. The lack of explicit evidence in the form of a plan written and signed by Milosevic, inspired the Hague Tribunal to amend the indictment, omitting genocide from the charges even though such a withdrawal was in conflict with international law and its own charter. Deniers like Serge Halimi, Dominique Vidal, Cathrine Samary, and Jean-Arnauld Derens applauded the amendment of the indictment as if it were proof of the validity of their arguments. Moreover, the latter two expressed their enthusiasm that, "Rape is considered a war crime by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia,"[2] and not an act of genocide.

The Hague's changing the indictment to eliminate the crime of genocide is the result of political influences brought to bear and does not reflect the truth about what happened in Croatia, Bosnia and Kosovo.

An example of how the Tribunal acted in a subsequent genocide illuminates the way in which political pressures influenced the charges in the cases of Croatia, Bosnia, and Kosovo. The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda described and condemned sexual violence committed by the Hutu against the Tutsi as acts of genocide because

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[1] Carla Del Ponte, cited book, *La traque, les criminels de guerre et moi*, p. 321-367

[2] Jean-Arnauld Derens & Cathrine Samary, cited book *Les 100 portes des Conflits Yougoslaves*, p.238-239

rape represents a serious violation of the physical and mental integrity of the victim. To consider[1] the same acts committed in Bosnia, Croatia and Kosovo by Serbian military and police forces as war crimes rather than genocide indicates clearly that the special influence of Serbian political forces and the pressure on the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia led the Hague to throw out the charges for genocide. Thousands of Albanian children, women, men and elderly, murdered with the intention to destroy the Kosovo Albanians as a people, and thousands of women raped with the intention to violate the physical and psychological integrity of Albanian women and prevent them from bearing Albanian children demonstrates the depth of the role of genocide in the division of Kosovo and Serbia.

What determines whether a crime is genocide is whether the perpetrators have the intention to destroy a national, ethnic, racial or religious group. Thus, there is no difference in kind between the genocide applied by Hitler's regime against the Jews and the genocide applied by the Milosevic's regime against Kosovo Albanians. The difference is in the population size of the objects of genocide and the degree to which the two regimes were successful.

The degree to which Milosevic was successful would have been much larger had it not been for the determination of the states participating in the military intervention of NATO to prevent the triumph of barbarism in Europe.[2]

Faced with the determination of the Western alliance, the Milosevic regime was forced to withdraw from Kosovo. The signing of the Military-Technical Agreement[3] in Kumanovo marked the end of political structures

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[1] Under international criminal law "war crimes" are the mildest category of responsibility in comparison to the "crimes against humanity", or "genocide" as the most serious form of crime against humanity.

[2] Cited from Anne-Sophie Paquez, La politique de la France au Kosovo était-elle "gaulliste" ?, Jacques Chirac, 2e intervention radiotélévisée diffusée sur TF1, 7 avril 1999, p.42http://www.unige.ch/gsi/Bienvenue/publications/euryopa/paquez.pdf

[3] Military Technical Agreement between the International Security Force ("KFOR") and the Governments of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Serbia, June 9, 1999 http://www.nato.int/kosovo/docu/a990609a.htm

of power installed by Milosevic in Kosovo and the withdrawal of military and police armed forces from Kosovo.

One day after the Military-Technical Agreement on June 10, 1999, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1244. The resolution determined the framework of the civil and security presence in Kosovo until the final decision on Kosovo's political status.[1] This agreement ended the war in Kosovo.

The end of the war in Kosovo set the stage for an international debate about the Serbian genocide against Albanians. Starring in this drama were the Kosovan refugees. Because of geographic proximity, the deportees who had found refuge in areas inhabited by Albanians in Macedonia, Albania, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina returned the very first week after the war ended, while other hundreds of thousands returned from various Western democracies, in particular Switzerland, Germany, Great Britain, France, USA, Canada and Australia where they had found temporary shelter and very humane treatment. From June 12th until August, 1999, about a million Albanians who had been deported by force returned to Kosovo.

What they found was a wrecked country. The consequences of the genocide in Kosovo were enormous. In addition to the large number of killed and missing people, 100,589 houses, 358 schools, 30 cultural institutions, 93 libraries, 123 health institutions, 220 religious buildings: 215 mosques, tekkes (Sufi temples), mausoleums and five Catholic Churches were destroyed in Kosovo.[2]

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[1] OUN, Security Council, Resolution 1244 http://www.icj-cij.org/docket/files/141/15025.pdf

[2] http://www.koha.net/arkiva/?page=1,13,145884

EPILOGUE TO CHAPTER SIX

In the prologue of this chapter I presented the report by the Spanish team of experts in the field of criminology and forensics, who had investigated the terrain surrounding Istog, the worst affected area, and had found only 187 bodies. The experts had stated that they "Discovered that the bodies were buried in individual graves, in most cases facing Mecca, to respect the religious beliefs of Kosovo Albanians and that the bodies had no signs of torture. In short, there were no mass graves. At least the Serbs are not as bad as they have been described to us." In the epilogue of this chapter I will present the testimony of Dominique Lecomte, head of the Paris Institute for Forensic Medicine, who stayed in Kosovo under a mandate of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia:

In the abyss of death

A challenge among many other challenges: just dived into the abyss of death. Only dead people! Once we spent seven days of work in a mass grave, an area where the earth was rotating in depth.

There are close to one hundred and fifty dead bodies of men, especially men killed by bullets, most of which came from war rifles, bullets which provoked terrible internal destruction. Some had delayed in their dying and were ended with a bullet in the skull. Many were shot running because they had been killed from behind.

During all this time I was saying, "It is war and every war causes death." For twenty years I have seen horrors every day, but I have the feeling that this mission of the after war surpasses all of them. I'm seeing the most horrible signs of human nature. In the next field there are people buried in hordes, in green oilcloth, people, most probably from the city, because they were well dressed. Almost all of them had traces of torture. Joints of their hands and feet were broken. You could suffocate from the

Mass graves

smell of the burning of garbage and of the dead coming from the ruined roofless houses.

"In the bottom of the well there are women", said a visibly upset person. He was right! It really was the culmination of horror! We will do anything to pull them out.

The heavy machinery of the engineers, with whom we were cooperating for some days, started rolling. They opened a breach to penetrate to the bottom of the well. Shovels broke in and opened it. Then, relics and bodies of women were hanging as dolls on the shovels were dug from the well. I was driving the vehicle to carefully put the bodies on the ground mats. They were well preserved, but we needed to act quickly because decomposition and insects would beat us in time. I and my colleague, on all fours, undressed the bodies; their clothes were filled with water. Mats were spread to protect us from the eyeballs. The medical examination was very troublesome: these women were raped and thrown alive into the well, where they drowned. In this village, everything was razed:

A well with bodies of Albanian civilians

gathered men were killed by machine guns near a bullet-riddled wall. In another village they had entered a house and killed all the family members: dried blood can be seen everywhere, women and children were killed before the eyes of men, who were then killed in the street with a bullet in the back. I remember a place where every house was ruined. A man was showing us the bullet holes on the walls and the ash pile in the yard, explaining to us that another old man who used to live in that house was shot dead and burned in the flaming house. From house to house he was telling us the same scenario and in the end he took us to a white tent, which was put up by international humanitarian organizations, where his family was sheltered. Trying to please us with something, he brought a tray with cups filled with syrup and from a flagon he poured water into the syrup cups. "It is well water," said he.

For a moment I stopped. My eyes crossed with my colleagues. In my head the well drama is still there and it is difficult for me to drink this cup. I held the cup for a long time in my hands not wanting to disrespect the host. My colleague, noticing my confusion, took it from me and drank it as gesture of friendship and a shared pain. I was ashamed! That day I left with my head down because I really was not able to be brave.

For several days in a row the carriages packed with men, women, children and elderly filled the streets. Life resumed.

Frames were mounting to the top, bricks were being stacked one atop of other and burned roofs were being replaced. Houses looked like injuries from the war, with many wounds wrapped in bandages.

Within two months Kosovo started to resemble other countries. The grass was regularly mowed because they needed to provide hay for the winter.

As I return to Paris I think I will have to deal with another problem: I will need to reconcile with a human being![1]

No matter how much someone might think that the pursuit of justice and truth may act against peace or harm stability in the region,[2] one thing is certain: without a knowledge of the real extent of the genocide in Kosovo and without punishing the perpetrators of these crimes, building bridges of cooperation between the countries in this part of Europe is an illusion. The European future of this part of the Balkans cannot be built on lies.

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[1] Dominique Lecompte, *Quai des ombres- Vingt ans au servile des morts*, Edition Fayard, 2012, p.209-218

[2] Florence Hartmann, Paix et chàtiment, (Peace and punishment), Flammarion, 2007, p.118

CHAPTER SEVEN

Defining the final status of Kosovo

PROLOGUE TO CHAPTER SEVEN

In relation to the Kosovo issue the international law seems to me very clear. So does the neutrality. Resolution 1244 of the Security Council of the United Nations speaks in three parts about the Serbian territorial integrity and says that Kosovo is a Serbian province, provisionally administered by internationals. Russia would have never accepted this resolution if it did not include the Serbian territorial integrity. This resolution is effective even today, because it is only the Security Council that can modify it or revoke it.

So, in the case of Kosovo we face an infringement of the international law within the Resolution 1244. In international law, self-determination of nations is subject to a number of conditions. A nation, to be recognized as such, must exist. Kosovo is not such a case. The United Nations have never before recognized a country that is separated from another country against the will of the country, part of which it was.

> *I have never understood the position of Lady Calmy-Rey! It would have been comprehensible if she had referred to autonomy, a confederate solution resembling the Swiss model. I can't understand why the federal council did not expect more. Something is not clear to me. Kosovo's independence was not decided in Prishtina. Most countries have not recognized and will not recognize Kosovo...*[1]

[1] Réseau Voltaire, intervista e cituar e Dick Marty-t : " L'indépendance du Kosovo..."

International presence in Kosovo

As I mentioned earlier in this book, *The Military-Technical Agreement,*[1] signed on June 9, 1999, in Kumanovo, Macedonia for the withdrawal of the Serbian military and police forces from Kosovo, was also the end of the political structures installed in Kosovo by Milosevic. Along with this important decision that ended the war in Kosovo, on the following day, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1244 regarding the situation in Kosovo.[2]

This resolution constitutes the legal foundation for the international presence both civilian and security, in Kosovo. Article nine of this resolution defined the responsibilities of the international security presence to operate in Kosovo after the withdrawal of Serbian forces.

The responsibilities of this mission included obstructing any renewed hostilities, maintaining and where necessary enforcing the ceasefire, preventing the return of the Serbian military, police, and paramilitary forces to Kosovo, and the demilitarization of the Kosovo Liberation Army. In this way, the resolution attempted to create a secure environment where refugees and displaced persons would be able to return safely to their homes, ensuring security and public order while supervising this process.[3]

The international security presence was entrusted to KFOR,[4] and the civilian presence took the form a United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK),[5] under the leadership of a Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations (SRSG).[6]

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[1] Military Technical Agreement between the International Security Force ("KFOR") and the Governments of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Serbia, June 9, 1999 http://www.nato.int/kosovo/docu/a990609a.htm

[2] UN, Security Council, resolution 1244 http://www.icj-cij.org/docket/files/141/15025.pdf

[3] For more see Resolution 1244 of UNSC, paragraph 9

[4] Kosovo Forces, Multinational military forces of NATO member countries and Russia.

[5] Hereafter I will use the abbr. UNMIK, The United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo

[6] Hereafter I will use the abbr. SRSG for the Special Representative of UN Secretary General

The main responsibilities of the international civilian presence consisted of support for the establishment of substantial autonomy and self-government in Kosovo until the final settlement; organizing and overseeing the development of provisional institutions for democratic and autonomous self-government pending a political settlement; facilitating a political process designed to determine Kosovo's future status, and in the final stage, overseeing the transfer of authority from Kosovo's provisional institutions to institutions established under a political settlement.[1]

Throughout the transition period that preceded its final status, Kosovo remained formally part of the Yugoslav Federation. Because of the importance placed by the Serbs and many internationals on the protection of the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia, the position of Kosovo was a hot button issue during the transition phase and final determination of its status. I will return to this issue later. Right now, I will focus on moments in the international administration of Kosovo that were crucial to its final disposition. Readers interested in more detailed information about these issues may refer to the sources cited below, which represent a solid basis for research on specific topics to do with this period in Kosovo.

Standards before status

The return of the Albanian evictees, the rebuilding of destroyed houses, and the creation of provisional institutions in Kosovo, were UNMIK's priorities during the first three years after the war.

After the first free elections were held in Kosovo (the municipal elections of October 28, 2000), the establishment of a constitutional basis for the building of provisional self-government institutions in Kosovo was the most important task in the process of the implementing

[1] For more see Resolution 1244 of UNSC, paragraph 11

the UNMIK mission. On May 15, 2001, the SRSG of the UN, Hans Haekkerup,[1] signed the Regulation,[2] which created the constitutional framework, the new constitutional basis of Kosovo. In his introduction to the framework, Hans Haekkerup stressed that "The constitutional framework for Provisional Self-Government of Kosovo describes the institutions that will be left in the hands of Kosovar leaders and public officials after the election on November 17 2001. This is indeed a historical document! It will lead the people of Kosovo toward the establishment of democratic structures, and its successful implementation will greatly assist the process of determining Kosovo's final status."[3]

In early 2002, UNMIK, through the UN SRSG's Michael Steiner,[4] announced a strategy that became known as "standards before status." This strategy focused on realizing significant advances in eight specific areas before starting the talks on Kosovo's final status:

1. The functioning of democratic institutions
2. The rule of law (police / justice)
3. Freedom of movement
4. Return and reintegration
5. Economy (legislation, budget balance, privatization)
6. Property rights (regular land-patent and property restitution)
7. Dialogue with Belgrade
8. The Kosovo Protection Corps (respecting their mandate, the participation of minorities)[5]

On December 10, 2003, the international day of human rights, the new special representative of the Secretary-General of the United

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[1] Former Danish Defence Minister, SRSG of Kosovo, January 2001- January 2002

[2] UNMIK Regulation 2001/9

[3] Constitutional Framework for Provisional Self-Government of Kosovo, p.2 http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:jVhfMSP5gLIJ:www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/FrameworkPocket_ALB_Dec2002.pdf+&cd=1&hl=fr&ct=clnk&gl=ch

[4] In this position during 2002-2003

[5] SENAT, "Une avancée prudente et délicate vers un statut final" (Careful and delicate advancement to the final status) http://www.senat.fr/rap/r03-316/r03-3167.html

Nations, Harri Holker,[1] formalized the document entitled *Standards for Kosovo.*

Meeting these standards was set as the common task of the United Nations mission and the institutions of self-government in Kosovo, and from the document's inception at the end of 2003 to mid-2005 was defined as the period of evaluation.[2]

In session 4880 of December 12, 2003, the Security Council supported the document *Standards for Kosovo*, compliance with which was described as, "A precondition of talks on the final status of Kosovo."[3]

However, the outbreak of riots on the 17 and 18 of March 2004 in Kosovo [4] revealed numerous problems that needed to be solved. In the analysis of the causes of the outbreak of these riots, one of the most repeated findings had to do with the political status of Kosovo. Despite progress in many areas, Kosovo's lack of political status was regarded as an obstacle to economic, political and security development. This finding would also be integrated later into the reports of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and of the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe.[5]

As a direct result of these riots, UN SRSG Harri Holkeri, resigned his position and on June 16, 2004 the Danish diplomat Søren Jessen-Petersen was appointed.

The new administrator found Kosovo in the midst of preparations

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[1] Former Prime Minister of Finland (1987-1991), President of the General Assembly of the United Nations (2000-2001) and Head of the United Nations Mission in Kosovo (2003-2004), who passed away in 2011.

[2] Voice of America, "Publication of the Document on Standards for Kosovo," 10.12.2003 http://www.zeriamerikes.com/content/a-30-a-2003-12-10-4-1-85537332/372595.html

[3] UN, Security Council, Communiqué de presse, CS/2600, 12.12,2003 http://www.un.org/News/fr-press/docs/2003/CS2600.doc.htm

[4] During which there were 19 civilians killed (11 Albanians and 8 Serbs), over 900 others injured, destroyed hundreds of houses and orthodox monuments, religious cult**...**
See: http://koha.net/?id=27&l=3195
http://tempsreel.nouvelobs.com/monde/20040317.OBS6076/emeutes-au-kosovo-sept-morts.html
http://www.hrw.org/fr/news/2004/07/26/kosovo-lotan-et-lonu-incapables-de-prot-ger-les-minorit-s

[5] In official documents, see the section of the Secretary-General Reports
http://www.un.org/fr/peacekeeping/missions/unmik/reports.shtml
Conseil de l'Europe, Assamblé Parlamentaire, Resolution 1595(2008)
http://assembly.coe.int/Mainf.asp?link=/Documents/AdoptedText/ta08/FRES1595.htm

for the general elections of October 23 2004, which had been announced prior to the riots.[1]

In this context it is worth mentioning that as a result of these elections and the political agreement between the LDK (Democratic League of Kosovo), which had won the majority of MP's in the assembly of Kosovo and the AAK (Alliance for the Future of Kosovo) which represented the third largest political force in Kosovo, the assembly elected Ramush Haradinaj, formerly affiliated with the KLA, as prime minister of Kosovo during the session of December 3, 2004.

Prime Minister Haradinaj and Carla Del Ponte

The election of Ramush Haradinaj, one of the KLA leaders, as Kosovo's prime minister, raised many objections in Serbia. In spite of the reaction, the work of consolidating the institutions of Kosovo was not affected.

Hence on December 17 2004, Søren Jessen-Petersen on behalf of UNMIK and Ramush Haradinaj on behalf of the Government of Kosovo announced, "The agreement to establish standards that were a priority for Kosovo and measures envisaged for their implementation."[2]

Facing this situation, the Belgrade press revived all the old charges that Milosevic's regime had leveled at the former leader of the liberation war in Kosovo.

Serbian reactions associated with the election of Ramush Haradinaj as Prime Minister in charge of the Kosovo government are not as critical to the issue of standards. More fruitful is an analysis of Carla Del Ponte's book, *The Hunt: Me and the War Criminals,*[3] because it was that which gave a legal form to indict the Serbian position on the KLA war. Del Ponte

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[1] BBC, General elections in Kosovo, October 23, 2004 http://www.bbc.co.uk/albanian/news/2004/03/040314_kosovo-elections.shtml

[2] UN, "Des normes prioritaires définies pour le Kosovo" (Priority determined standards for Kosovo) http://www.un.org/apps/newsFr/storyF.asp?NewsID=9667&Cr=Kosovo&Cr1=MINUK#.U-xzLbizWQl

[3] Carla Del Ponte, citet book *La traque, les criminels de guerre et moi*, p.649

presents herself as a professional who misses not even small details. Quoting the proverb *the devil is in the details,*[1] this general prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia presented to her readers the detail that, "On June 16, 2004, the Dane Søren Jessen-Petersen, who had worked for the United Nations for a long time, replaced Michael Steiner as head of UNMIK. Like other foreigners who were appointed to bring order to Kosovo, he tried to establish relations with local Albanian leaders from whom he was hoping to get support for improving security in this region which had been devastated by violence, in order to strengthen government institutions and prepare Kosovo for its future status."[2]

One might think that Carla Del Ponte missed a detail when she forgot that Michael Steiner, UN SRSG for Kosovo, was replaced by Harri Holkeri for the period of 2002-2003. Only after his resignation was Søren Jessen-Petersen appointed to this position. The silence of Harri Holkeri, the UN SRSG from July 23, 2003 until his resignation on May 25, 2004, is a detail that cannot be omitted. He was the international representative who formalized the document *Standards for Kosovo* and was in the spotlight after the March riots in 2004. After the appointment of Søren Jessen-Petersen, it is important to note that he and Ramush Haradinaj established an agreement[3] about the commitments for implementation of standards as a precondition for talks on the final status of Kosovo.

Carla Del Ponte's deference towards the engagement of the UN Special Representative of the Secretary General in general, and towards Søren Jessen-Petersen in particular was problematic. In placing such importance on the role of the Special Representative, she trivialized the work of those charged to represent the international civilian presence, that is, foreigners charged with returning order to Kosovo. This was done intentionally to downplay the fact that the international civilian presence

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[1] Ibid. p.481
[2] Ibid. p.480
[3] Dated December 17, 2004

in Kosovo together with the "local Albanians"[1] had a specific mission to create the preconditions for determining its final status. The troublesome issue for Carla Del Ponte was the detail that the particular local Albanian with whom Søren Jessen-Petersen was supposed to coordinate matters in order to continue the implementation of the temporary international mission, was a former commander of the Kosovo Liberation Army.

The election of Ramush Haradinajt as the head of the Kosovo Government during the mandate of implementing and assessing the "Standards for Kosovo" and just before the beginning of the talk process for determining the final status was discouraging to anyone who hoped to return Kosovo under the Serbian jurisdiction.

The election of Ramush Haradinaj as Prime Minister of Kosovo[2] caught Carla Del Ponte's attention. However, unlike those who merely expressed their discontent with the outcome, Carla Del Ponte was in a position to do something about it. She had the power to order investigations of any public figure she chose, and she chose Ramush Hardinaj. Del Ponte mobilized all her available personnel in the International Criminal Court to prepare an indictment against Ramush Haradinaj. "The confirmation of the indictment against Ramush Haradinaj Ramush on March 4, 2005"[3] and the dissemination of this information on March 5, 2005 may appear to be coincidental. However, given Del Ponte's obsession with detail and her general lack of support for an independent Kosovo, coincidence is unlikely. The 4th and 5th of March are deeply embedded in the Albanian consciousness as the dates when the first act of Serbian genocide occurred in Kosovo. In addition to the annual commemoration of this tragedy, the Albanian nation of Kosovo commemorates the unprecedented heroism of the KLA commanders, Adem and Hamza Jashari, who, against overwhelming odds with forces that were greatly outnumbered,

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[1] As prefered by the prosecutor to call them
[2] Carla Del Ponte, cited book, La traque, les criminels de guerre et moi, p.480
[3] Ibid. p.480

embodied the resistance of a freedom loving nation. In killing these two commanders of the KLA, the Belgrade regime hoped to kill the aspirations of the Albanian people for freedom and independence from Serbia.

On March 4th and 5th of 1998, Serbian police and military forces surrounded the village of Prekaz in Drenica. This event is recalled by the retired commander of the Serbian police, Slobodan Stojanovic, who testified that, "In Upper and Lower Prekaz, women, children, animals and everything moving there were killed."[1] This is the same incident for which Ratomir Tanic, a representative of the Serbian delegation in the talks with Kosovo,[2] stated that, "Instead of arresting the Jashari brothers and the others, our forces attacked their houses and massacred women, children and other members of their families. Instead of focusing the actions to defined targets, they also attacked their neighbors."[3]

These are dates that the Albanian people of Kosovo commemorate in pain and pride, while the Milosevic Regime officially interpreted these actions as, "Successes in the fight against terrorism."[4]

To select the 4th and 5th of March in order to announce the indictment against a former KLA leader who was elected Prime Minister, provoked the Albanians in the extreme. Del Ponte could not have done better to foment anger among the Kosovo Albanians if she had tried.

Even more provoking was the fact that the details in the case against Ramush Haradinaj were published by the Serbian Secret Service in an indictment of the International Criminal Court for the former Yugoslavia. Furthermore, Carla Del Ponte admits in her book that she obtained the information during her visits to Belgrade. "She was informed about the

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1 Fond za humanitarno pravo, "SvedočenjeSlobodana Stojanovića (2): Ubijali su decu, žene, starce, čobane, ovce," (Testimony of Slobodan Stojanovic : they killed children, women, elderly, shephards, sheep....) at:
http://www.hlc-rdc.org/?p=25448

2 More on his testimony the reader was able to know from Chapter Three Epilogue, Chapter Four and the Fifth.

3 Testimony of Ratomir Tanic at the trial against S. Milosevic, May 14, 2002, p. 718-719

4 http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/world/monitoring/64947.stm

criminal activities of members of the KLA[1] and about the disappeared people in Kosovo between the years 1998 to 2001."[2] She continues, "About the kidnapping of men, women and children,[3] about the list of names of 200 kidnappers, all members of KLA,[4] about the alleged executions in the vicinity of Lake Radoniq and the list of 196 places of possible execution."[5]

The Serbs characterized Albanians as a clannish society that does not recognize anything other than their own law of retaliation,[6] and the Serbian official position during the war stigmatized the KLA as a criminal enterprise aimed at strengthening its control over the Dukagjini Area. These fabricated details were published in *The White Book* of the Serbian Secret Service. This document included stories of the KLA implementing forced eviction or the practical elimination of Serbian civilians who remained in this area which was under their control[7] and specific cases of abductions and killings of Serbian, Albanian, Roma and other civilians suspected of collaboration with Serbian forces or who did not support the KLA.[8] It was entirely on the basis of these details from a Belgrade propaganda document that Carla Del Ponte filed the lawsuit against Ramush Haradinaj. However, despite the certitude that he was completely innocent, Ramush Haradinaj resigned from the post of Prime Minister and called on Kosovo citizens to show complete calm. Then he appeared in The Hague at the International Criminal Court to face justice.

Ramush Haradinaj's decision to withdraw from the post of a Prime Minister of Kosovo in order to allow the international justice to do its work freely, and his public call to the people of Kosovo to keep calm and respect public order, had a truly positive effect. Various international public

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[1] Carla Del Ponte, cited book, La traque, les criminels de guerre et moi, p.455
[2] Ibid. p.455
[3] Ibid. p.455
[4] Ibid. p.456
[5] Ibid. p.464
[6] Ibid. p.460
[7] Ibid. p.481-482
[8] Ibid. p.481

figures applauded[1] this attitude that was in line with the continuance of stabilization of the situation in Kosovo, as a prerequisite to finalize the process of determining its future political status. Here, it is important to note that Ramush Haradinaj's appeal for calm disappointed anyone expecting disturbances and destabilization of the situation, which would be used later to present Kosovo as a constant source of crisis. Anyone who looked forward to destabilization in the area was disappointed.

Carla Del Ponte was also disappointed and did not hide the fact. Of all the welcoming statements of the internationals in Kosovo, the statement of the Head of UNMIK, Søren Jessen-Petersen, who through a press release applauded the act of Ramush Haradinaj, was regarded by Carla Del Ponte as, "a sign of weakness [2] of the internationals towards Albanians." She remarked, "The high praising of Jessen-Petersen seems to imply that UNMIK is powerless, and that he is at the mercy of the Albanians who had practically castrated him during the protests of 2004."[3]

The Status Quo and the Final Status of Kosovo

No matter how much Carla Del Ponte tried to hide "the devil in the details," one thing cannot be hidden: the indictment against the Prime Minister was clearly intended to create new turmoil in the region, which would postpone the start of the process of determining Kosovo's final status.

However, in political and diplomatic circles there was a dominant

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[1] On the reactions regarding the resignation of Ramush Haradinaj from the position of a prime minister of Kosovo you can find a sythesis in the articles: "Haradinaj traveled to The Hague!," at http://www.parajsa.com/forum/t/haradinaj-udhatoi-par-na-haga and "Kosovo's prime minister resigns to face war crime charges in the Hague" at http://www.setimes.com/cocoon/setimes/xhtml/sq/features/setimes/features/2005/03/09/feature-01

[2] On this way of interpretation of the relations between Albanians and representatives of international institutions you can find out more in the book of Carla Del Ponte, *La traque, les criminels de guerre et moi*, Editions Heloise d'Ormesson, french print, October 2009, p. 485-490

[3] Carla Del Ponte cited article, La traque, les criminels de guerre et moi, p.487

view that maintaining the status quo involved risks[1] of destabilizing the situation in Kosovo and beyond. In a word, the determination of Kosovo's final political status arose as an essential element to ensure long-term peace and stability in the western Balkans and Europe as a whole.[2]

In order to keep a balance in the implementation of the standards and to avoid any possible threat to peace and security in Kosovo and the region, the UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan, through the report[3] of May 23, 2005, clearly expressed his intention to undertake all the necessary steps "To draft a global report for the situation in Kosovo."[4] For this reason, in June 2005, he appointed Kai Eide, a permanent representative of the Norway Mission to NATO, to be his special envoy and do a full review of the situation in Kosovo.

In a quarterly analysis, Ambassador Kai Eide submitted his report. On October 7, 2005, the Secretary General of the UN gave the report for review to the Security Council.[5]

In sessions 5289 and 5290 of the UNSC on October 24, 2005, the Security Council was satisfied with the report and approved the conclusions of Ambassador Eide, according to whom it was time to move on to the next phase of the political process. After reviewing the global situation discussed in this report, the Security Council agreed that the determination of the final status of Kosovo was necessary and decided to give a green light to the beginning of this process. At the same time, the Security Council requested the appointment of a special envoy as soon as possible, to lead this process and reaffirmed their support for the objectives for a multiethnic, democratic Kosovo, a stabilizing factor in the region.[6]

In accordance with this decision, Secretary General Kofi Annan, via

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1 UNMIK, "Apporter la paix au Kosovo", http://www.paixbalkans.org/minuk.htm
2 Paragraph 1 of Resolution 1595 of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe
3 United Nations, doc.S/2005/335, May 23, 2005
4 Ibid.
5 United Nations, doc.S/2005/635 dated October 7, 2005
6 United Nations, doc. S/PRST/2005/51, October 24, 2005

the letter[1] of October 31, 2005, informed the Security Council that he was planning to appoint Martti Ahtissari[2] as his special envoy to lead the talks, with Albert Rohan[3] acting as his deputy. Martti Ahtissari was already known for his commitment to ending the war as the co-author of the peace plan.[4]

The Security Council supported[5] Kofi Annan's proposals, and from November 10, 2005, Martti Ahtissari and Albet Rohan were the official appointees in charge of leading the talks between Serbia and Kosovo. The head of the Security Council, Andrey I. Demisov, attached the guidelines, principles of the contact group for the resolution of Kosovo's political status, to the supporting letter. The guideline principles of the contact group can be read in their entirety on the website[6] of the United Nations. A few of these are relevant to the topic being discussed here.

The guideline principles of the contact group emphasized that, The regulation of Kosovo's status should strengthen the regional security and stability, ensuring in this way that Kosovo would not return to the situation before March, 1999. Any unilateral solution resulting from the use of force will not be acceptable. There will not be any changes to the current territory of Kosovo, meaning that there will not be a division of Kosovo, and there will not be a union of Kosovo with another country or

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1 United Nations, doc.S/2005/708 dated December 31, 2005

2 Martti Ahtissari has been the President of Finland during the period 1994-2000. After the end of his Presidential mandate, he formed the Crisis Management Initiative (CMI), being its chairman. Prior to his appointment as Special Envoy of Secretary General of the UN, until September 2005, Martti Ahtisaari was also vice president of the East-West Institute and member of the Open Society Institute Advisory Group.

3 Director of Cabinet of the Secretary General of the UN (1977-1981) and General Director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Austria (1996-2001).

4 Le monde diplomatique, "Plan de paix de MM. Tchernomyrdine et Ahtisaari" (The Peace Plan of Tchernomyrdin and Ahtisaari), at: http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/cahier/kosovo/ok2juin-fr

5 See letter (United Nations, doc. S/2005/709, November 10, 2005) through which the President of the Security Council, Andrey I. Demisov-i, informed the Secretary General of UN Security Council on the support for the proposals concerning Martti Ahtisaari and Albert Rohan.

6 United Nations, doc. S/2005/709, November 10, 2005, p. 2-3 http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:VuvkRRIMlVkJ:www.operationspaix.net/DATA/DOCUMENT/3398~v~Lettre_adressee_au_Secretaire_general_par_le_President_du_Conseil_de_securite_au_sujet_de_la_nomination_de_l_Envoye_special_charge_de_diriger_le_proce.pdf+&cd=2&hl=fr&ct=clnk&gl=ch

with a part of another country. The territorial integrity and the internal stability of regional neighbors will be fully respected.[1]

Vienna Negotiations

The arrest of the Prime Minister of Kosovo, Ramush Haradinaj, and some health conditions of Kosovo's President, Ibrahim Rugova, impacted directly to delay the commencement of negotiations on the final status of Kosovo.

One month after the death of President Rugova[2] and the election of Fatmir Sejdiu for the President[3] of Kosovo, the negotiations between the Kosovo Delegation and the Serbians commenced in Vienna.

Just as in the Rambouillet Conference, where the Serbian delegation was composed of people who were not empowered to make decisions, the new Belgrade government applied old methods. Serbia sent low-level officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs[4] to the negotiations in Vienna for the final status of Kosovo. On the other hand, the Kosovo delegation consisted of Fatmir Sejdiu (President of Kosovo), Agim Cheku (Prime Minister), Kole Berisha (President of the Assembly of Kosovo), Hashim Thaci (Head of the Democratic Party of Kosovo, the largest opposition party), Veton Surroi (Head of ORA reformist party and a well known politician in Kosovo)[5] Lutfi Haziri (Minister, Democratic League of Kosovo, or LDK) and Blerim Shala from civil society. The Kosovo Team, which was named "The Unity Team," consisted of the highest representatives possible and showed that Kosovo had approached these negotiations seriously.

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1 Ibid., p.3

2 President Rugova passed away on January 21, 2006

3 Fatmir Sejdiu was elected on this position on February 10, 2006.

4 European Union, Institute for Security Studies, Chaillot Paper, decembre 2008, No114
Marc Weller,"Negotiating the final status for Kosovo," p.28
See: www.iss.europa.eu/uploads/media/cp114.pdf
Integrated study integrated in the Albanian print: Marc Waller, Contested *Statehood, Publisher Koha, June* 2011, p. 326

5 Ibid, English print p. 27, Albanian print p.325

Starting from February 20, 2006, until September 8th of the same year, the two delegations held 11 rounds of talks. During these talks, the Serbian delegation and the Kosovo Delegation discussed different issues related to the decentralization of governing positions and the administration of Kosovo, issues dealing with cultural heritage, places of worship, economic matters, and issues related to minority rights.

Despite the low-level representation of the Serbian delegation compared to the Kosovo delegation, Marc Weller complained that, "The Serbian delegation was not prepared to engage in substantive discussions." Moreover, "The Serbian party was sometimes trying to provoke the Kosovo delegation by starting historical debates, and time after time they would even use insults aiming to make them abandon the talks."[1]

One of the most important events that occurred during these negotiations and which had its effect on the proposal of the special envoy to lead the talks, was related to Montenegro. This country, which had remained connected to a federal system with Serbia, announced a referendum for its independence. In the referendum, organized on May 21 2006, some 55.5 % of the voters supported the separation of Montenegro from Serbia and the creation of an independent state of Montenegro.[2]

Despite major opposition from Serbia and concern about the risk of regional destabilization in the case of Montenegran separation from Serbia,[3] on June 3, 2006, the Parliament declared Montenegro an independent and sovereign state. [4]

The separation of Montenegro from Serbia dashed the hopes of all those who still wanted to create a "small federation" that would be a

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1 Ibid, English print p. 27, , Albanian print p.325

2 BBC, "Montenegro declares independence," http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/5043462.stm

3 See article of Ivan Jankovic "Zašto Crna Gora treba da bude nezavisna?" (Why Montenegro should be independent?) http://katalaksija.com/2006/05/04/zasto-crna-gora-treba-da-bude-nezavisna/

4 Vimeo, "Proglašenje nezavisnosti Crne Gore," June 3, 2006 (Declaration of Indepedence of Montenegro, June 3, 2006) http://vimeo.com/67519137

remnant of the former Yugoslav Federation, and which would include Kosovo.

At the same time, the Serbian lack of willingness to engage in talks on core issues ensured that even after 11 rounds of negotiations "on most issues that had been discussed, the parties remained very far apart."[1]

As I mentioned earlier, the Serbian delegation attempted to provoke the Kosovo delegation into breaking the negotiations. These insults were hidden from the public eye. The major provocation from the Serbian side during the process of these negotiations did not come from within the talks, but from the head of the Serbian state institutions. In order to obstruct international mediators before the final determination of the status of Kosovo, the Serbian government decided to draft a new constitution through an accelerated procedure, without a public debate and without waiting for the outcome of the negotiations.

On September 14, 2006, the national assembly of the Republic of Serbia debated the draft of the new constitution. The location, language, and terminology used by the Serbian representatives were reminiscent of Milosevic's regime. To the historian and official of the Liberal Democratic Party of Serbia, Nikola Samardzic, the debates from the podium of the Serbian Assembly proved that things were even worse than in Milosevic's time. Milosevic had the same assembly, but made more lenient decisions with words that were less inflammatory than those heard from the podium.[2]

The media frenzy from this matter moved a Serbian journalist, Svetlana Lukic, to express her indignation through irony, "What we heard that day in Parliament, and what was decided there is the quintessence of madness and of detachment from reality. From what I can see, in the preamble of the new constitution it will be written in golden words that Kosovo was Serbian since the Big Bang and

[1] UN, Reports S/2006/707 and S/2007/906
see: http://www.un.org/docs/sc/sgrep07.htm

[2] Radio Peščanik, "govore: Miljenko Dereta, Vesna Pešić i Nikola Samardžić," 15.09.2006, http://pescanik.net/2006/09/tangenta-srca/

will remain so all the way to the Great Contraction of the Universe."[1] The firestorm enveloping Serbian public opinion was such that the Belgrade Serbian intellectual, Miljenko Dereta, described it this way: Every time I wake up, I feel like I'm in the movie *Groundhog Day,* [2] where things repeat. For instance, in recent days Kosovo is the main topic. The same language, the same terminology and the same ideas are being discussed as five, ten, fifteen, or twenty years ago. No solution is offered except the status quo. I do not know if there is another government anywhere in the world, which every day demonstrates its inability and unwillingness to solve problems. I was born in something called Yugoslavia and if life has caused this area where I was born, which I experienced as my area, to be reduced and its parts to leave the area, and if that was acceptable in some cases, then why is it unacceptable in other cases? For me, at this moment, Kosovo is same as Slovenia. If Slovenia could separate from Yugoslavia, why cannot Kosovo also do that?[3]

Miljenko Dereta was not the only Serbian intellectual who supported Kosovo's independence. Nikola Samardzic also weighed in, declaring from his position as a high official in the Serbian Liberal Democratic Party, We are the only political party, which in determination has reiterated that Kosovo's independence, besides being reality of the future, it is also a right to be relished by the majority of Albanians. It is in the interest of Serbia to be freed of a territory unable to be governed by it and where Serbs have their historical, cultural and economical interests, interests that Serbia cannot impose or enforce violently.[4]

The Serbian sociologist and politician,[5] Vesna Pesic, also thought that the referendum on the new Serbian constitution had a hidden agenda.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] The American movie "Groundhog Day" from the director Harold Ramis

[3] Radio Peščanik, cited TV show, "Govore: Miljenko Dereta, Vesna Pešić i Nikola Samardžić"

[4] Ibid.

[5] During the period 1992-2007 was an activist and leader of the Serb Civic League, while during 2007-2011 switched to the Liberal Democratic Party of Serbia, following the merger of the Serb Civic League in this party.

[The constitutional referendum was being held] Only for the reason of saying Kosovo is ours. The issue of Kosovo's independence will be decided regardless of what we write in our constitution. We know that in that constitution Kosovo will be regarded as a part of the Serbian state territory. What if we'd have a new resolution of the United Nations, and one day that will come true, which will state that Kosovo is no longer a territory of this country? What if other states begin to recognize an independent Kosovo, if the European Union and the United States recognize this state while in our constitution it is still stated that the territory of another state is part of our state? This would mean the same as if Austria would have wrote in its constitution that Slovenia is a part of its territory.[1] This scenario is not impossible, although a decision on the Kosovo status has still not been reached. I don't believe that this decision will be brought in compliance with our constitution. What are we supposed to do when other countries recognize Kosovo? How are we supposed to join Europe? With the assassination of Zoran Dzindzic we practically turned our back to Europe. We need to say it clearly: today's Serbia and its present leadership don't want to join Europe, they don't wish that to happen."[2]

Despite all the criticism in Serbian public opinion, the Serbian National Assembly, in a special session convened on September 30, 2006, unanimously adopted the proposal for the new constitution of Serbia. The next day, on October 1, the President of the Assembly of Serbia, Predrag Markovic, declared the referendum on 28 and 29 of October in 2006.[3]

The Serbian Prime Minister, Vojislav Kostunica, officially admitted the purpose behind drafting a new constitution. One day before the referendum, he stated that, "The adoption of the new Constitution of

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[1] Allusion to historical law claims when a certain territory, in a certain period, has been part of a certain state. Slovenia was once part of the Austro-Hungarian Kingdom!

[2] Radio Peščanik, cited TV show, "govore: Miljenko Dereta, Vesna Pešić i Nikola Samardžić"

[3] Šta donosi predlog novog ustava Srbije (What the new constitution proposal brings) Shih: http://www.b92.net/info/dokumenti/index.php?nav_id=213697

Serbia through a referendum to be held tomorrow and on Sunday, will demonstrate the willingness of the citizens for Kosovo to remain an integral part of Serbia."[1]

The referendum was organized and ended with the intention of maintaining top-level government control over the process. Although the data spoke of citizen participation,[2] which did not legitimize this referendum, the Serbian authorities published figures claiming that 51.4 % of voters supported the new Serbian constitution. Although the Serbians did not hide the fact that no Albanians took part in this referendum, the propaganda regarding the percentage of participation reached its peak when it was declared that, "The biggest turnout of voters was in Kosovo at 90.1%."[3]

In short, Serbia tried to block all the possibilities for any kind of negotiated settlement by changing its constitution unilaterally in the middle of the deliberations concerning the final status of Kosovo.[4]

After the adoption of the new constitution of Serbia and in accordance with its provisions, on November 10, 2006, the Serbian President, Boris Tadic, announced the free early elections. These elections were held on January 21, 2007, and the Serbian Radical Party was announced the winner. It is worth mentioning that this party was officially led by its founder, Vojislav Sheshel, who had been imprisoned since 2003 in the Hague accused of crimes against humanity and war crimes.[5] In accordance with the outcome of these elections, Tomislav Nikolic, Vice President of this party, was elected

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1 Government of Serbia, "Koštunica: Jendnostrano priznanje Kosova je pravno nasilje" (Unilateral acceptance of Kosovo is violence on the right) http://www.mfa.gov.rs/Srpski/Bilteni/Srpski/b301006_s.html#N3

2 See the part of reactions on the referendum: Politika, "LDP: Na referendum izašlo 49,7 odsto" http://www.politika.rs/rubrike/Tema-nedelje/Referendum/t10734.lt.html

3 Politika, "Ustav potvrđen: 'Za' glasalo 51,4 odsto birača" (Constitution confirmed: 51.4 % of the voters said "YES") http://www.politika.rs/rubrike/Tema-nedelje/Referendum/t10734.lt.html

4 Marc Weller, cited article, English print, p. 73, Albanian print, p. 380 (cited from the English print)

5 Fondacion Robert Schuman, "Les ultranationalistes arrivent en tête, des élections législatives en Serbie" http://www.robert-schuman.eu/fr/oee/0609-les-ultranationalistes-arrivent-en-tete-des-elections-legislatives-en-serbie

president of the Serbian assembly. In response, all the other Serbian parties joined together to prevent the creation of the Government by the Serbian Radical Party. The new Government, led by Vojislav Kostunica[1] was formed on May 15, 2007, only a few minutes before the end of the legal timeframe of the process of forming the government. The efforts of Serbian governmental leaders, the referendum on the new Serbian constitution, and the early elections could not prevent the continuation of the work by the international mediators during the negotiation process in Vienna. On February 2, 2007,[2] the special envoy of the UN Secretary General, Martti Ahtisaari, handed over the package of proposals concerning the final status of Kosovo to the two delegations, and the parties engaged in a consultation process.

The representatives of Kosovo[3] responded positively to the proposal package, whereas the Serbian representatives opposed it categorically. Serbian President Boris Tadic declared that "Serbia, and him as the President of the country, will never recognize Kosovo's independence."[4] To Serbian Prime Minister Vojislav Kostunica, Ahtisaari was an anti-Serb and a pro-Albanian who "Had proposed biased points."[5]

In addition to being described as an anti-Serb and a pro-Albanian, the allegations against Ahtisaari escalated to the extent that he was accused of having received bribe money from "the Albanian Mafia" to support Kosovo's independence. According to the Bosnian Serb newspaper *Focus,* Serbian State Television informed its viewers that that the "German Intelligence Service, BDN, discovered that the Albanian mafia had purchased the Ahtisaari plan for Kosovo's independence for a sum of 40 million Euros." The source of the Bosnian Serb newspaper

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1 Known as Kostunica Government II

2 See report of the new UN Secretary General, Ban Ki-moon,S/2007/134, March 9, 2007

3 Le monde, "Serbes et Albanais divisés sur le plan Ahtisaari (Serbs and Albanians divided on Ahtisaari Plan)," 03.02.2007
http://www.lemonde.fr/europe/article/2007/02/03/serbes-et-albanais-divises-sur-le-plan-ahtisaari_863211_3214.html

4 Ibid.

5 Cited from Milena Dieckhoff, L'individu dans les relations internationales: Le cas du médiateur Martti Ahtisaari, Harmattan, 2012, p. 74

Kosovo representatives receiving Ahtisaari's proposal

claimed that most of this sum of money was, "Handed over in person to Ahtisaari, in a silver colored bag, while two million Euros were poured into his bank account."[1]

Despite the fact that these accusations were disproven, the Serbian and pro-Serbian media continued to post these allegations on their web pages as "The Ahtisaari corruption scandal." I will not dwell on the hundreds of articles of this nature, because the articles spreading this disinformation aimed to create confusion about the proposals for Kosovo's final status. According to reporters from the Serbian newspaper *Press,* the discovery of Ahtisaari's supposed connection with the Albanian mafia and their corruption in buying support for Kosovo's independence were sufficient to doubt the credibility of his report.[2]

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[1] Index, "Albanska mafija kupila Ahtisaarijev plan za Kosovo" (Albanian Mafia has payed for the Ahtisaari Plan for Kosovo) http://www.index.hr/vijesti/clanak/albanska-mafija-kupila-ahtisaarijev-plan-za-kosovo/351638.aspx

[2] Press, Newspaper Team, "Skandalozno otkriće Nemačke obaveštaine službe BND" (Scandalous

Serbian representatives receiving Ahtisaari's proposal

In this regard, the Serbia and pro-Serbian circles were mobilized against the possibility of Kosovo's independence and stigmatized every individual who supported it. Carla Del Ponte, at the beginning of the trial of former Kosovo Prime Minister Ramush Haradinaj, tried to draw attention to what Belgrade propagated as "Kosovo Serbs as victims of Albanians."

Selecting the date for commencement of the trial as March 5, 2007, once again the 5th March, as if the calendar had no another dates, and making the KLA sit on the bench of the accused at the same time that critical moments of Kosovo's future political fate were determined revealed the single-mindedness with which Carla Del Ponte pursued her strategy to shut down the aspirations for the political independence of Kosovo.

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disclosure of Information Service of Germany, BND)
http://www.pressonline.rs/info/politika/14102/albanci-kupili-ahtisarija.html

The beginning of Ramush Haradinaj's trial on March 5, 2007, was only five days before the final round of talks that were to be held in Vienna. The timing of the trial was used as propaganda by the Serbian delegation to impeach the credibility of Haradinaj in particular and the Albanian cause in general. "The final talks brought no positive results[1] in aligning the Serbian and Albanian positions," declared the UN Secretary General. In the Security Council meeting on 26 March 2007, Ban Ki-moon placed on review *The Comprehensive Proposal for the Kosovo Status Settlement,*[2] which was prepared by Martti Ahtisaari and his team. This report said, "After more than one year of direct talks, bilateral negotiations, and consultations between experts, it was clear that the parties were not ready to agree on Kosovo's final status."[3] Furthermore, Ban Ki-moon cautioned that Martti Ahtisaari was convinced that all the possibilities to find a negotiated way accepted by both parties had been exhausted. Continuation of negotiations in any form would not end this stalemate. The time to regulate the status of Kosovo had come.[4]

In the end of his report, Martti Ahtisaari concluded that, "By reviewing the recent history of Kosovo and the current reality and by conducting negotiations with both sides, I have come to the conclusion that the only sustainable option for Kosovo is its independence. Initially, this independence should be supervised by the international community."[5]

The conclusions of the Special Envoy were accompanied by the final text[6] of his comprehensive proposal concerning the status of Kosovo, which, he argued, would regulate the structures of this international

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1 See report of UN Secretary General S/2007/395 dated June 29, 2007

2 Propozimi gjithëpërfshirës për zgjidhjen e statusit të Kosovës, 26 mars 2007 http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:od4KU6e9n5QJ:www.unosek.org/docref/Comprehensive_proposal_-_Propozimi_gjith%25EBp%25EBrfshir%25EBs_-_albanian_final.pdf+&cd=2&hl=fr&ct=clnk&gl=ch

3 Shih letrën e Sekretarit të përgjithshëm të OKB-së drejtuar presidentit të Këshillit të Sigurimit, S/2007/168, 26 mars 2007,http://www.un.org/docs/sc/sgrep07.htm

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

6 UN, Doc. S/2007/168, Add. 1, 26 March 2007

supervision and lay the foundations of an independent Kosovo[1]. These proposals included the creation of a special commission that would prepare Kosovo's constitution, organize free elections for the establishment of central and local authorities, the termination of the mandate of UNMIK after a transitional period of 120 days, and the overall transfer of legislative and executive competences of the international mission to Kosovo's governing authorities.[2]

The UN Secretary General adhered[3] completely to the recommendations formulated by Martti Ahtisaari. The Proposal known as the "Ahtisaari Package" was supported by Belgium, France, Germany, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America. In the spirit of "the Ahtisaari package" these states compiled a draft resolution,[4] which was withdrawn on July 17 2007, due to the probability that it would be blocked by Russia's veto in the Security Council.

Rambouillet Déjà vu: Another 120 days of Negotiations

Despite the conclusion of Martti Ahtisaari that "continuing the talks in any form, will not enable us to get out of this impasse," the UN Security Council requested that the Contact Group make another effort to align the diametrically opposed views of the negotiating parties.

For the readers who wish to know more about this period of negotiations I suggest the analysis in English from the author Marc Weller, published in issue 114 of the magazine *Chaillot Paper,*[5] while to Albanian readers I would suggest chapter 13 of the book[6] from the same author.

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1 UN, Doc. S/2007/168, paragraph 5
2 UN, Doc. S/2007/168, Add. 1, 26 March 2007, Art.15.1
3 See the letter addressed to the Head of UN Security Council dated 26 March 2007, Doc. S72007/168
4 Doc. S/2007/437 Prov.
5 European Union, Marc Weller, cited research "Negotiating the final status for Kosovo," part five, p. 57-67
6 Marc Waller, cited book, Contested Statehood, p. 361-390

Here, it is sufficient to point out that the new negotiations, set to continue for 120 days and to be completed at the latest by December 10, 2007, were supposed to be held under the administration of a "Trio" composed of representatives of USA, Russia, and the EU.

The Trio, authorized by the Contact Group and consisting of the German Ambassador Wolfgang Ischinger,[1] Alexander Bostan–Harchenko[2] and Frank Wiesner,[3] conducted these negotiations from August 9th to December 3rd of 2007.

After the first three[4] meetings held with the parties in London, Belgrade, Prishtina, and Vienna, the "Trio" made a report on September 27, 2007, in New York, to the ministers of the Contact Group, the UN Secretary General, the High representative of the EU, the EU Presidency, the European Commissioner for Enlargement, Secretary General of NATO and the representative of UNOSEK.

After the meeting, the ministers of the Contact Group for Kosovo issued a statement which, among other things, said the following:

> *The ministers reminded the parties that a fast settlement for the status of Kosovo is a determinant for the stability and security of Western Balkans and Europe in general. The ministers have reaffirmed their decisiveness in finding a negotiated solution and adopted by the UN Security Council. The ministers have expressed their gratitude for the ongoing efforts of UNMIK and KFOR to create a multi-ethnic, peaceful and democratic Kosovo. They have fully supported the position of the UN Secretary General that the status quo is not sustainable. This issue would have detrimental consequences for the political, social and economic development of Kosovo and for the underlying stability of the region. It is therefore necessary to find a solution immediately.*[5]

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1 Representative of EU
2 Representative of Russia
3 Representative of USA
4 10-12 August– The first meeting of the 'Trio' with the parties (Belgrade and Prishtina)
30 August– The second meeting of the 'Trio' with the parties (Vienna)
September 18-19– The third meeting of the 'Trio' with the parties (London)
5 Ibid.

The next day, on September 28 in New York, the first direct meeting between the two parties was organized. These direct meetings would continue to be held in Brussels,[1] Vienna[2] and Baden-Baden[3] in Germany.

On November 7, 2007, the European Commission underlined the necessity of regulating the status of Kosovo without delay in order to enable the political and economic development of the territory and to guarantee regional stability.[4]

In the spirit of Ahtisaari's package for building sustainable institutions, on November 17, 2007, Kosovo held free and democratic parliamentary and municipal elections. These were the fifth elections organized since the deployment of UNMIK to Kosovo.

The elections were organized by Kosovo's State Election Commission, under the authority of UNMIK and in close cooperation with the OSCE. As a result of a fair and peaceful election campaign, the voting process was conducted without any incidents. The European Council confirmed their compliance and announced the conducted elections in accordance with European and international standards.[5]

In the context of these negotiations it is important to note that on paragraph eight of the report, Ban Ki-moon stressed that During the entire election campaign, the Unity Team of Kosovo continued to attend the negotiations on the final status of Kosovo led by the Trio. The representatives of the Unity Team often repeated that any new continuation of negotiations would be unacceptable and that a date should be decided for the independence of Kosovo as soon as possible. This term

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1 On October 14, 2007 and November 20, 2007
2 On October 22, 2007 and November 5, 2007
3 November 26, 27 and 28, 2007
4 Cited in the Report of UN Secretary General, dated January 3, 2008, p.5, paragraph 16
Nations Unies, Conseil de sécurité, S/2007/768
Rapport du Secrétaire général sur la Mission d'administration intérimaire des Nations Unies au Kosovo
http://www.un.org/fr/peacekeeping/missions/unmik/reports.shtml
Rapport du Secrétaire général sur la Mission d'administration intérimaire des Nations Unies au Kosovo
5 Ibid. Chapter III, paragraph 3 of the Report.

should occur immediately after December 10th[1] and in agreement with the international community. This raised hopes that Kosovo would become independent in the near future. The public exercised great pressure on the new government and the parliament to declare independence as soon as possible after the end of that term.[2]

In his report, Ban Ki-moon emphasized the fact that the inhabitants of Kosovo were still hoping that a fast solution for Kosovo's final status was possible. For this reason, he argued that the status quo was likely to continue, and if the current impasse were to be prolonged, intervention in the field could impose its own logic, which would seriously compromise the achievements of the United Nations in Kosovo.[3]

To avoid deterioration of the situation in Kosovo and the region, the UN Secretary General requested that the Security Council and the international community consider the advancement of the process on the final verdict of Kosovo's future status a priority.[4] The Secretary General argued that the uncertainty and the loss of favorable dynamics in the process of determining the future status presented a risk of destabilizing Kosovo and the region and represented a potential risk to the safety of the United Nations personnel.[5]

The End of Negotiations on Kosovo's Political Status

Neither the election campaign nor the elections could stop the negotiations. The Trio intensified its work during October and November of 2007. After the direct meetings between the parties on December 3rd, the Trio arranged separate meetings with the parties in Belgrade and Prishtina. On December 4th, the Trio submitted its report to the UN

[1] The time lime when the final report of the results of the Troika was to be delivered
[2] January 3 2008, Report, Chapter III, paragraph 8 of the report.
[3] Ibid., Chapter XIII, paragraph 33 of the report
[4] Ibid.,
[5] Ibid., Chapter XIII, paragraph 34 of the report

Secretary General informing him about the end of the negotiations saying that "Despite the tense talks, the parties did not reach a compromise on the final status of Kosovo, and neither of the parties was willing to make concessions on core issues."[1]

The conclusion of the Trio that its mission had failed brought the Security Council to the same point as after the submission of proposals to Martti Ahtisaari—unable to pass a resolution that would require the application of the Ahtisaari Plan.

In this view, it is important to stress that all the data available indicated that the Declaration of Independence by the new institutions of Kosovo would be inevitable, just as it was inevitable that the Serbians and Russians would greet it with opposition. Despite this discouraging news, diplomatic efforts did not stop. To the contrary, "they intensified to avoid any kind of provocation which would raise tensions in the region and enable Serbia and Russia to hinder the course of the Declaration of Independence of Kosovo."[2]

In the elections of November 17, 2007, the winner was the Democratic Party of Kosovo, led by Hashim Thaci [3].

In accordance with the results of these elections, on January 4 and 9, 2008, the new assembly in Kosovo was formed, and they elected Jakup Krasniqi[4] as President of the Assembly, Fatmir Sejdiu as President of Kosovo, and Hashim Thaci as the Prime Minister of Kosovo. The establishment of the new institutions of Kosovo marked the end of the institutions that had an interim status. The publication of the report of the UN Secretary General on January 3, 2008, and the beginning of

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1 Nations Unis, Conseil de sécurité, Doc. S/2007/723

2 RTL.be, "Kosovo: l'UE veut négocier les conditions de la proclamation d'indépendance" (Kosovo: EU willing to negotiate conditions on declaration of indepedence), 19 Novembre 2007 http://www.rtl.be/info/monde/europe/59875/kosovo-l-ue-veut-negocier-les-conditions-de-la-proclamation-d-independance

3 Former political leader of KLA and head of the Albanian Delegation in Rambouillet Conference, Head of the Democratic Party of Kosovo since its establishment.

4 A historian, one of the six political leaders of KLA, its first official spokesman, member of the delegation of Kosovo in Rambouillet Conference, member of the Political and Strategic Group during the Vienna Negotiations and General Secretary of Democratic Party of Kosovo since its establishment.

the establishment of the new Kosovo institutions on January 4, 2008, influenced the Serbian authorities to make final efforts to impede the proclamation of independence for Kosovo.

To that end, on January 4, 2008, the very same day that the assembly convened to create the sustainable institutions of Kosovo, Serbia's Permanent Representative to the UN, Pavle Jevremovic, sent a letter to the President of the Security Council. In this letter, the Serbian representative presented his observations on the report of the UN Secretary General, dated January 3, 2008.

Pavle Jevremovic emphasized that Serbia was aiming at substantial autonomy, and not a solution to the Kosovo status that included independence for the region. This proposal should be a proposal for reconciliation with the Albanian minority in Kosovo. The Republic of Serbia will not accept any requests for secession by any minority out of its 27 minority citizens. The proposal for a substantial autonomy must respect the constitution of Republic of Serbia, the provisions of international law, the United Nations Charter, the Helsinki Final Act, and the view expressed in Resolution 1244 on the future status of Kosovo.[1]

The use of the term "minority" for the Kosovo Albanians and the comparison of over 2 millions of Albanians with the 27 other minorities who were living in the Serbian state indicated clearly that the "new" institutions of Serbia had not progressed in their thinking or terminology from the old regime.

In full accordance with the spirit of the old attitude toward the "Kosovo issue," Pavle Jevremovic criticized the members of the UN and the representatives of UNMIK who, "In their report on Kosovo, treat the Serbs of the Province as a national minority, while they are national majority in the state of Serbia. This terminology, beyond the fact that it is inaccurate, also proves the support for the independence of Kosovo."[2]

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[1] Ibid., paragraph 2
[2] Ibid., paragraph 11

The Serbian permanent representative in the UN in particular criticized the actions of the Security Council: "The claims included in the report to the UN Secretary General could be interpreted as pressure in favor of a fast solution for the independence of Kosovo."[1] Jevremovic mostly focused his criticisms on paragraph 8, 33 and 34 of the Ban Ki-moon report and the frequent warnings of the risk of destabilization in Kosovo and the region if the process of determining the future status of Kosovo was to be delayed. He indignantly asked why "The risk of instability that could result from the declaration of Kosovo's independence was never mentioned."[2]

With the aim of raising awareness about the risks of Kosovo's eventual Declaration of Independence, Serbian President Boris Tadic travelled to New York. On January 16, 2008, in session 5821 of the UN Security Council, the Serbian President cautioned the attendees that the United Nations Charter guaranteed the principle of respecting the territorial sovereignty and integrity of internationally recognized countries, and underlined the fact that Serbia was one of those internationally recognized countries. He demanded from all the member nations to avoid encouraging a decision in favor of Kosovo's independence and reiterated that his country would never recognize its independence. Instead, he vowed to take all necessary measures to preserve the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Serbia.[3]

To temper his remarks, Boris Tadic explained that the preservation of territorial integrity and sovereignty of the country excludes the use of violence and war, and promised that this goal would be accomplished, "Through democratic means and legal and diplomatic instruments."[4]

Just as in the end of the Rambouillet Conference, when instead of signing the draft agreement proposed by the international mediators, the

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[1] Ibid., paragraph 6
[2] Ibid., paragraph 6
[3] Nations Unis, Conseil de sécurité, CS/9227, 16 janvier 2008 http://www.un.org/News/fr-press/docs/2008/CS9227.doc.htm
[4] Ibid.

Serbs submitted a new document for Kosovo's autonomy within Serbia, the Permanent Representative of Serbia in the UN, Pavle Jevremovic and the Serbian President Boris Tadic emphasized "The readiness of the Serbian state for a substantial autonomy that respects the constitution of Serbia."

Another attempt to prevent the declaration of Kosovo's independence was made in February. Specifically, on February 12, 2008, Pavle Jevremovic wrote a letter[1] to the president of the UN Security Council in which he demanded that the Security Council "urgently convene to examine the extremely aggravated situation in the Serbian Provinces of Kosovo and Metohija, where we are assisting the recent activities of the provisional institutions of the autonomous administration, and they are aiming at a unilateral declaration of independence."[2] Ambassador Pavle Jevremovic also let the members know that the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Vuk Jeremic, also planned to attend the meeting.

On the same day that the Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation to the UN, Vitaly Churkin, submitted a special paper in which he supported Serbia's request for an urgent meeting of the Security Council to examine the dangerous course of events in Kosovo (Serbia) where the provisional institutions of self-administration prepared to declare unilateral independence.[3]

On the same day that the meeting of the Security Council was planned in response to Serbian and Russian requests, the Serbian government called an emergency meeting.

At the meeting of February 14, 2008, the Serbian government made a decision to revoke any illegal act and every action of the

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[1] Nations Unies, Conseil de Sécurité, S/2008/7, 7 janvier 2008
Lettre datée du 12 février 2008, adressée au Président du Conseil de sécurité par le Représentant permanent de la Serbie auprès de l'Organisation des Nations Unies (The letter dated February 12, 2008, of the Permanent Representative of Serbia in UN, addressed to Chairman of the Security Council) Doc.S/2008/92
http://www.un.org/fr/peacekeeping/missions/unmik/reports.shtml

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

provisional institutions of the self-government in Kosovo that could undermine the sovereignty of Serbia over Kosovo and its territorial integrity.

In paragraph one[1] of this decision the Serbian Government, as a preventive measure against Kosovo's eventual Declaration of Independence, revoked the act of unilateral and illegal Declaration of Independence in Kosovo because it opposed the constitution of Serbia according to the United Nations Charter and Security Council Resolution 1244.[2] Furthermore, the Serbian government reiterated the request for another extraordinary meeting[3] of the Security Council, which would decide on their demand for the immediate revocation of the act of unilateral and illegal Declaration of Independence of Kosovo.[4] In the same paragraph, the Serbians demanded that the UN Security Council Special Representative in Kosovo prevent any such acts by revoking and declaring them invalid.[5]

In paragraph eight of its decision, the Serbian government demanded that all UN member states respect the territorial sovereignty and integrity of Republic of Serbia.

On February 14, 2008, in response to Serbian and Russian requests, the UN Security Council convened a private session. Because of its private status, the minutes of this session were not published. On the official website of the UN, in the category "Meetings Records,"[6] there is only one official communiqué which states that in private session 58535, "Members of the council and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Serbia had an exchange of views."[7]

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1 Out of nine items in this decision.
See the whole decision: Nadlanu, "Poništena nezavisnost" (Cancelled independence)
http://www.nadlanu.com/pocetna/Ponistena-nezavisnost.a-20725.43.html

2 Ibid.

3 Item 7 of the decision of Serbian Government

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

6 Nations Unis, Conseil de Sécurité, Proces-verbales des séances
http://www.un.org/fr/sc/meetings/records/2008.shtml

7 Ibid.

In this session, according to sources published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Serbia, "The Serbian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Vuk Jeremic, urged all states to give support to the protection of Serbian territorial sovereignty and integrity and not allow a unilateral declaration of the independence of Kosovo."[1] In addition to the requests, which were addressed to all countries, was a demand to "Protect Serbia's territorial sovereignty and integrity." Vuk Jeremic asked the Security Council to "condemn the clear intention of the Prishtina authorities to declare a unilateral, illegal and unfair independence of Kosovo,"[2] and demanded in the form of an ultimatum, that the Security Council issue a special decree to "confirm the sovereignty and integrity of Serbia, including Kosovo."[3]

In the event that Kosovo declared independence in spite of Serbia's opposition, Vuk Jeremic had an answer about what should be done. He requested that the Special Representative of the Secretary General, Joachim Rucker,[4] in the event that the assembly of the province declared independence, use all his competences to declare this act invalid and to dissolve the Assembly of Kosovo.[5] Vitalij Churkin, the Russian representative, requested the same thing and contended that the Representative had no choice: "Joachim Rucker was obliged to declare such a decision as invalid."[6]

Like the President of Serbia Boris Tadic, Vuk Jeremic also said "Serbia would use all means available except military, to protect the constitution, democracy, and its territorial integrity."[7]

Regarding this extraordinary session, it is important to look at the

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1 Ministry of Interior Affairs of Serbia, "Hitna vanredna sednica SB UN iza zatvorenih vrata" (Emergency meeting of UN SC in closed doors) http://www.mfa.gov.rs/Srpski/Bilteni/Srpski/b150208_s.html#N9

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

4 German diplomat who replaced Søren Jessen-Petersen after the end of his mandate in Kosovo, Joachim Rucker undertook office from September 1, 2006 (http://www.un.org/apps/newsFr/storyF.asp?NewsID=12788&Cr=&Cr1=#.VAI6K7izWQk)

5 Ministry of Interior Affairs of Serbia, cited article, "Hitna vanredna sednica..."

6 Ibid.

7 Ibid.

responses of representatives of the US[1] and the UK.[2] They emphasized that after the experiences of Kosovo during the Milosevic regime, one thing was certain: Belgrade could not govern Kosovo any longer. They declared that Kosovo was a unique case, and that Ahtisaari's plan for supervised independence was the best solution.[3]

The final status of a territory and the restrictive position of the Security Council

The demands of the Serbian and Russian diplomats defending the territorial sovereignty and integrity of Serbia and condemning the purpose of the Declaration of Independence were made in the hope that the Security Council would act as in the cases of South Rhodesia,[4] the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, and the Republika Srpska in Bosnia.

I will focus briefly in these three cases because they explain an important aspect of international law and assist in illuminating the restrictive practices of the UN Security Council when dealing with the status of particular territories.

I will present the case of South Rhodesia, which on November 11, 1965 declared its independence from Great Britain. A day after this act, the UN Security Council, through resolution 216 of November 12, 1965, "Condemned the unilateral Declaration of Independence by the racist minority of South Rhodesia[5] and demanded that all countries refuse recognition of the racist and illegal minority regime of South Rhodesia."[6] The same view was also reiterated in resolution 217 of November 20, 1965, in which it "condemns the usurpation of power by a minority of South Rhodesia and the Declaration of

[1] Alejandro Daniel Wolff, who during 2005-2010 was in the position of a Permanent Representative of US to the UN, and a deputy
[2] Robert John Sawers, was in the position of a Permanent Representative of UK to the UN 2007-2009
[3] Ministry of Interior Affairs of Serbia, cited article,, "Hitna vanredna sednica..."
[4] Now part of Zimbabwe
[5] United Nations, Security Council, Resolution 216, November 12, 1965, paragraph 1
[6] Ibid. paragraph 2

Independence, proclaimed by the minority, was an act without any legal value."[1]

Similar actions were taken in the case of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, when its authorities, on November 15, 1983, declared their independence from the rest of Cyprus. Three days later, on November 18, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 541 related to this act.

This resolution expressed, "Regret that the separation of part of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus had been declared. This was an invalid act, and we request its cancellation."[2] The Security Council was not limited to that. It demanded that all countries respect the sovereignty, democracy, and territorial integrity of Republic of Cyprus[3] and refuse to recognize any Cypriot state other than the Republic of Cyprus.[4]

Since the separation of the island of Cyprus was still considered an unsolved problem on June 29, 1999, the Security Council of the United Nations passed Resolution 1251 which reaffirmed the demand expressed in previous resolutions to respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus. The Security Council reiterated its position that, "The solution of the Cyprus problem must be based on Cyprus as a sovereign state with an international character and a unique statehood, with independence and territorial integrity guaranteed and two politically equal communities. The solution of this issue must exclude a complete or partial union with another country or any form of partition or secession."[5]

Even in 2004, in the context of the efforts of Republic of Cyprus to integrate within the structures of the European Union, the United Nations proposed the "Annan Plan."[6] This plan aimed to unify the two

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1 United Nations, Security Council, Resolution 217, November 20, 1965, paragraph 3
2 United Nations, Security Council, Resolution 541, November 18, 1983, paragraph 2
3 Ibid. paragraph 6
4 Ibid. paragraph 7
5 United Nations, Security Council, Resolution 1251, June 29, 1999, paragraph 11
6 Those interested can find "Annan Plan" at:
Basis for a comprehensive settlement of the Cyprus problem

separated states of Cyprus in a unified state on the basis of federalism.[1]

In the case of the Declaration of Independence of Republika Srpska, the Security Council reacted abrasively. Resolution 787 of November 16, 1992, initially expressed deep concern because of the threat made against the territorial integrity of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It emphasized that Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a member state of the United Nations, enjoyed the rights provided by the UN Charter.[2] "The Security Council strongly reaffirms its call to respect strictly the territorial integrity of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and confirmes again that no unilateral declared entity and no imposed solution against the integrity of the aforementioned country will be accepted."[3]

As you can see, in the three cases mentioned above, the Security Council had a strong position against independence and demanded the preservation of the sovereignty and integrity of the countries concerned. The case of Kosovo was different. Despite Serbian and Russian efforts, the Security Council did not take any position regarding its future status that would confirm Serbia's sovereignty over Kosovo. Instead, because of Martti Ahtisaari's Report, which guided the negotiations between Serbia and Kosovo, there was a prevailing awareness within the Security Council that Ahtisaari's conclusions stated that the only sustainable option for Kosovo was its independence. The Security Council also dismissed an attempt by Serbia to argue that Kosovo's independence set a precedent that would cause major damage in maintaining security in the world. The prevailing opinion in the Security Council was that Kosovo's Declaration of Independence would not constitute any international precedent, because this case could not be separated from its historical

http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:oyA8FvWWav8J:www.kypros.org/proposal.pdf+&cd=2&hl=fr&ct=clnk&gl=ch

[1] "AnnanPlan" was put to a referendum on April 24, 2004. The plan was accepted by Turkish Cypriots (65 %), but rejected by Greek Cypriots (76%) and as a result of this vote the plan failed.
See: Le Monde diplomatique, Niels Kadritzke, "Occasion perdue pour les Chypriotes" (Missed opportunity for Cypriots), May 2004,
http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2004/05/KADRITZKE/11170

[2] United Nations, Security Council, Resolution 787, November 16, 1992 (S/RES/787)

[3] Ibid., paragraph 3

context. Determining Kosovo's final status had to be seen within the specific historical context of the collapse of the Yugoslav Federation, which had set a precedent for Kosovo's independence. The creation of an independent state of Kosovo would be the birth of the seventh state created out of the violent breakup of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.[1]

In the meetings of the UN Security Council dedicated to the future status of Kosovo, there were divergences on certain issues among its members. There was a consensus in the Council on only one matter: the status quo posed a threat to the stability of Kosovo and the region.

Prime Minister Thaci reading the Declaration of Independence of Kosovo [2]

Declaration of Independence of Kosovo

In a joint paper on February 17, 2008, Kosovo's President Fatmir Sejdiu and Prime Minister Hashim Thaci urged the Speaker of the

[1] The name of this country during 1945-1992

[2] Announcement – Declaration of Independence of Kosovo http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aSdout_wP9s

Assembly, Jakup Krasniqi, to summon an extraordinary meeting of the assembly.

In the afternoon session of February 17, in the presence of 109 out of 120 MPs of the assembly, the Prime Minister read the Declaration of Independence.[1]

The introduction of the Declaration maintained in particular that, "Kosovo is a special case arising from Yugoslavia's non-consensual breakup and is not a precedent for any other situation."[2] The decision clarifying the political status of Kosovo was aimed at explaining their future to the people of Kosovo. Because parts of this declaration cannot be understood out of context, the full text of the declaration follows:

1. We, the democratically elected leaders of our people, hereby declare Kosovo to be an independent and sovereign state. This declaration reflects the will of our people and is in full accordance with the recommendations of UN Special Envoy Martti Ahtisaari and his comprehensive proposal for the Kosovo Status Settlement.
2. We declare Kosovo to be a democratic, secular and multi-ethnic republic, guided by the principles of non-discrimination and equal protection under the law. We shall protect and promote the rights of all communities in Kosovo and create the conditions necessary for their effective participation in political and decision-making processes.
3. We accept fully the obligations for Kosovo contained in the Ahtisaari Plan, and welcome the framework it proposes to guide Kosovo in the years ahead. We shall implement in full those obligations including through priority adoption of the legislation included in its Annex XII, particularly those that protect and promote the rights of communities and their members.

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[1] "Declaration of Independence of Kosovo" http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:ahLoSXoztJIJ:www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/Dek_Pav_sh.pdf+&cd=1&hl=fr&ct=clnk&gl=ch

[2] Intro and the full Declaration at: http://www.mfa-ks.net/repository/docs/Dek_Pav_sh.pdf

4. We shall adopt as soon as possible a constitution that enshrines our commitment to respect the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all our citizens, particularly as defined by the European Convention on Human Rights. The constitution shall incorporate all relevant principles of the Ahtisaari Plan and be adopted through a democratic and deliberative process.
5. We welcome the international community's continued support of our democratic development through international presences established in Kosovo on the basis of UN Security Council resolution 1244 (1999). We invite and welcome an international civilian presence to supervise our implementation of the Ahtisaari Plan, and a European Union-led rule of law mission. We also invite and welcome the North Atlantic Treaty II Organization to retain the leadership role of the international military presence in Kosovo and to implement responsibilities assigned to it under UN Security Council resolution 1244 (1999) and the Ahtisaari Plan, until such time as Kosovo institutions are capable of assuming these responsibilities. We shall cooperate fully with these presences to ensure Kosovo's future peace, prosperity and stability.
6. For reasons of culture, geography and history, we believe our future lies within the European family. We therefore declare our intention to take all steps necessary to facilitate full membership in the European Union as soon as feasible and implement the reforms required for European and Euro- Atlantic integration.
7. We express our deep gratitude to the United Nations for the work it has done to help us recover and rebuild from war and build institutions of democracy. We are committed to working constructively with the United Nations as it continues its work in the period ahead.
8. With independence comes the duty of responsible membership in the international community. We accept fully this duty and shall abide by the principles of the United Nations Charter, the Helsinki

Final Act, other acts of the Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and the international legal obligations and principles of international comity that mark the relations among states. Kosovo shall have its international borders as set forth in Annex VIII of the Ahtisaari Plan, and shall fully respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all our neighbors. Kosovo shall also refrain from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

9. We hereby undertake the international obligations of Kosovo, including those concluded on our behalf by the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) and treaty and other obligations of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to which we are bound as a former constituent part, including the Vienna Conventions on diplomatic and consular relations. We shall cooperate fully with the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia. We intend to seek membership in international organisations, in which Kosovo shall seek to contribute to the pursuit of international peace and stability.
10. Kosovo declares its commitment to peace and stability in our region of southeast Europe. Our independence brings to an end the process of Yugoslavia's violent dissolution. While this process has been a painful one, we shall work tirelessly to contribute to a reconciliation that would allow southeast Europe to move beyond the conflicts of our past and forge new links of regional cooperation. We shall therefore work together with our neighbours to advance a common European future.
11. We express, in particular, our desire to establish good relations with all our neighbours, including the Republic of Serbia with whom we have deep historical, commercial and social ties that we seek to develop further in the near future. We shall continue our efforts to contribute to relations of friendship and cooperation with

The Prime Minister, Speaker of Parliament and the President of Kosovo sign the Declaration of Independence

the Republic of Serbia, while promoting reconciliation among our people.

12. We hereby affirm, clearly, specifically, and irrevocably, that Kosovo shall be legally bound to comply with the provisions contained in this declaration, including, especially, the obligations for it under the Ahtisaari Plan. In all of these matters, we shall act consistently with principles of international law and resolutions of the Security Council of the United Nations, including resolution 1244 (1999). We declare publicly that all states are entitled to rely upon this declaration, and appeal to them to extend to us their support and friendship.[1]

Kosovo's Declaration of Independence was accompanied by extraordinary enthusiasm among the Albanian people. UN Secretary Ban Ki-moon noted that there were celebrations throughout Kosovo and

[1] Ibid.

Prishtina, the celebration of the Declaration of Independence

not a single incident of violence against persons. In February 18th session of the Security Council, speaking on the issue of security in Kosovo after independence, he stated that throughout Kosovo, tens of thousands of people celebrated the Declaration of Independence peacefully.[1]

Moreover, the next day in the Serb-inhabited part of north Mitrovica, 9,000 people demonstrated peacefully against the Declaration of Independence. "Peace reigns in Kosovo,"[2] Ban Ki-moon said. He also referred to only two worrying instances: grenades that had caused minor material damage.[3] "Calmness reigned throughout Kosovo," said the UN Secretary General during this session of the Security Council.

A day after the decision of the Assembly of Kosovo on February 18th, the recognitions of Kosovo's independence began. The United Kingdom,

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[1] Nations Unies, Conseil de sécurité, S/PV.5839, p.2-3
See Minutes from session 5839 of February 18, 2008
http://www.un.org/fr/sc/meetings/records/2008.shtml

[2] Ibid.

[3] Several UNMIK vehicles damaged

France, The United States of America, Turkey, Afghanistan and Albania were the first countries to inform the authorities in Kosovo of their recognition of the independence of the new country of Kosovo.

Serbian reactions to the decision of the Kosovo Assembly

Immediately after the Declaration of Independence, the Serbian media announced that the President of Serbia, Boris Tadic, the Serbian Prime Minister, Vojislav Kostunica, and the chairman of the Serbian Radical Party, Tomislav Nikolic,[1] had met and agreed for the Serbian assembly to hold an extraordinary meeting about Kosovo's Declaration of Independence. [2]

In this extraordinary meeting, the Serbian assembly was supposed to review the decision of the Serbian government, dated February 14th, for the extrajudicial actions of the provisional institutions of Prishtina in regard to the Declaration of Independence of Kosovo.[3]

During this meeting, key members of the Serbian institutions agreed that the government and the parliamentary parties would organize a protest in Belgrade with the slogan: "Kosovo is Serbia."[4]

Despite this agreement, each member of the Serbian state institutions spoke about the reality of the newly created Kosovo. Thus, in his statement, the Serbian President Boris Tadic noted that, "Serbia will never recognize Kosovo and will react by peaceful, diplomatic and legal means in order to annul the decision of the provisional institutions of Kosovo. Serbia will require the international institutions in Kosovo to immediately cancel this decision which is contrary to international law."[5]

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[1] The party which had won elections of January 21st, 2007

[2] B92, BETA, TANJUG, "Srbija poništava nezavisnost" (Serbia annuls independence) http://www6.b92.net/info/vesti/index.php?yyyy=2008&mm=02&dd=17&nav_category=640&nav_id=285213

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

The Serbian Prime Minister Vojislav Kostunica spoke much more severely. He denounced the president of the US, George W. Bush, and the Europeans who followed the American dictate, for creating the false state of Kosovo.[1]

In his hysterical speech against the US and EU countries, a speech that later was removed[2] from the Serbian government's webpage, Vojislav Kostunica did not see the creation of the new state of Kosovo as the political will of the Albanian people, but instead as a "false state" created as a result of an international conspiracy against Serbia. To the Serbian prime minister, Kosovo's Declaration of Independence revealed the truth of why Serbia was severely ruined by the NATO bombing: "To create a false state for the military interests of NATO. At the foundation of the false state of Kosovo lie bombs."[3] The Serbian prime minister summed up his views of the situation in the following passage: The ones to be blamed for this situation are mainly the United States and the European countries, which followed the American dictate. The USA and these European countries will be marked in dark letters in the history of Serbia and in any history dealing with international law. If the USA has managed to humiliate and force Europe to kneel down and step on the very principles on which it rested, Serbia will not do that.[4]

After Kostunica's speech, the Serbian Government ordered its ambassador to leave Washington and return immediately to Belgrade. The government promised that this measure would also apply to other countries which recognized Kosovo's unilateral independence."[5]

After the aggressive speech of Vojislav Kostunica, around 2,000 Serbs protested in front of the US Embassy in Belgrade. Protesters

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[1] Ibid.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.

threw rocks and flares toward the embassy building, breaking its windows. Special police intervened and dispersed the protesters.[1]

On February 18, the Serbian assembly was convened to review the decision of the Serbian government for the cancellation of the unilateral Declaration of Independence. Of the 234 deputies present, 225 of them voted in favor of the adoption of this decision.[2] By doing so, the Serbian assembly hoped to undo all acts and decisions made by the government in Kosovo that declared independence, because according to the Serbian assembly, "Such actions violate their sovereignty and territorial integrity sanctioned by the constitution of Serbia, the UN Charter, Resolution 1244 and other resolutions of the Security Council."[3]

This decision of the assembly of Serbia was adopted on the same day that the Security Council of the UN decided to convene in a session dedicated to Kosovo's Declaration of Independence, to which the Permanent Representative of Serbia and the Russian Federation were summoned. The events that took place in this meeting will be discussed later. What follows immediately are the responses to the Declaration in the Republic of Serbia. In addition to the first protests that took place on February 17 in front of the US embassy, there were other protests on a smaller scale in some of the other Serbian cities and in northern Mitrovica in Kosovo. However, it was the protests of February 21, which were organized by the state institutions and Serbia's parliamentary parties, that mobilized large masses of protesters.[4]

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[1] "Skupstina Srbije odlucno ponistila odluku o nezavisnosti Kosova i Metohije -Moleban za spas srpskog naroda - Protesti sirom Srbije" (Assembly of Serbia quashed the independence of Kosovo and Metohia - Prayer for Serbian nation - Protests across Serbia) http://www.kosovo.net/news/archive/2008/February_19/files/1203399296_681y2ffycc8_msg-14323-1.txt

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] The number of participants varies from one information source to another. Figures ranging from several tens of thousands of participants and several hundred thousand were reported.

Protesters holding up Radovan Karadzic's photograph[1]

Anti-American and anti-Western slogans proliferated at the protests, and Serbian prime minister Vojislav Kostunica, head of the Serbian opposition Tomislav Nikolic, the prime minister of Bosnian Republika Srpska, Milorad Dodik, and various public personalities, actors, and athletes of different sports all spoke at the gatherings.[2]

Mobilizing public figures of Serbian origin, especially those who were internationally recognized, aimed at proving that, "The Serbian nation, being a divine nation, has also its great personalities in the world scientific system."[3]

In his speech, in addition to his deification of the Serbian people, film director Emir Kosturica[4] glorified the values of the Serbian nation compared to values of lesser peoples. Serbian values, he said, were "Values that lie at the foundations of civilization." He also had words for Serbs

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1 Bosnian criminal kingpin who was at the time, wanted by the Hague. He was arrested on 21 July 2008 and is awaiting trial for genocide in Bosnia.

2 Politika, "Reč je data, dok živimo - Kosovo je Srbija" (We've given our, until we are alive - Kosovo will be Serbia, 21.02.2008 http://www.politika.rs/rubrike/Politika/RECH-JE-DATA-DOK-ZIVIMO-KOSOVO-JE-SRBIJA.lt.html

3 Ibid., (speech of Emir Kusturica)

4 Film director, two time lauret of "Golden Palm"

did not share his vehement opposition to Kosovo's independence and who did not believe that Serbs had a monopoly on good values. Kosticura called those who "Deny such a thing, as people sold for a smaller amount of money."[1]

This mobilization continued to the degree that those who weren't able to attend the protests in person sent their telegrams of solidarity stating that, "Kosovo must remain eternally under the sovereignty of Serbia."[2] There were also individuals who sent their support via video, as was the case with the famous international tennis player, Novak Djokovic.[3] The Serbian basketball player Dejan Bodiroga also did not miss this event. The Serbian press said that he had refused to play for the NBA in the US and preferred the European leagues. He proudly stated, I have played in many matches for my country but this match is the most important one for Serbia. This match has not ended. This match will be played until the final victory of Serbia because Kosovo is Serbia. I, and all of us, the Serbian orthodox Christians, are obliged to fight for our country and to be proud of it. Kosovo has been, still is and in the future will be Serbia.[4]

Bodiroga had stepped out of his comfort zone as a player of basketball, a sport invented in the US, to hold forth against that nation and against Kosovo independence.

After the gathering, Vojislav Kostunica, Tomislav Nikolic, Crown Prince of Serbia Aleksandar II Karadjorcevic, and many other protesters congregated at Saint Sava Temple in Belgrade to attend a prayer session organized by the Serbian Orthodox Church for "The salvation of the Serbian people."[5]

During this prayer session it was emphasized that, "The church has often times released communiqués to affirm that Kosovo and Metohija

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1 Politika, cited article "Reč je data, dok živimo - Kosovo je Srbija," (speech of Emir Kusturica)
2 Politika cited article "Reč je data, dok živimo - Kosovo je Srbija"
3 Novak Djokovic- Kosovo je srce Srbije (Kosovo is the heart of Serbia) http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iKSrOg_pcvU
4 Ibid. (fjala e Dejan Bodirega-s)
5 http://www.kosovo.net/news/archive/2008/February_19/files/1203399296_ 681y2ffycc8_msg-14323-1.txt

have been and should remain an integral part of Serbia. Any other solution would constitute a violation of God's justice and human justice; it would also be an expression of violence with long term consequences for the Balkans and Europe as a whole."[1]

Along with aggressive rhetoric against the US and other countries that had recognized or said that they intended to recognize the independence of Kosovo, the February 21 protesters attacked several diplomatic offices. The Embassy of Turkey had its windows broken, its flag removed and replaced by the Serbian flag,[2] and the Embassy of Bosnia and Herzegovina had its entrance smashed. Also, the Embassy of Croatia had its windows destroyed, while the US Embassy was set on fire.[3]

The protesters also attacked foreign companies: banks, McDonald's and other institutions that were connected to pro-Kosovo countries.

Serbia's Diplomatic Reactions

Apart from the violence that occurred during the protests organized by government organizations and political parties in the parliament,[4] Serbia also responded diplomatically.

Just as during the convention of February 14, 2008, Serbian diplomats asked the Security Council to condemn the intention of Kosovo to declare independence. Serbian Permanent Representative to the UN Pavle Jevremovic and Russian Federation Permanent Representative to the UN Vitaly Churkin demanded an urgent meeting to review the Declaration of Independence of Kosovo on February 17.[5]

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1 Ibid.

2 Politika, artikulli i cituar "Reč je data, dok živimo - Kosovo je Srbija"

3 Shih videon: Paljenje Američke Ambasade u Beogradu (Djegia e Ambasadës Amerikane në Beograd) http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YcNCLyhyEFs

4 Except the Liberal Democratic Party of Serbia, which boycotted these protests.

5 See: Letter dated 17 February 2008 from the Permanent Representative of Serbia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council
United Nations Security Council, Doc. S/2008/103
http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:KenTm6HXkCkJ:www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%257B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%257D/kos%2520S%25202008%2520103.pdf+&cd=3&hl=fr&ct=clnk&gl=ch and Letter dated 17 February

The US Embassy after the attacks

In the February 18th, 2008 session,[1] attended by Serbian president Boris Tadic, the UN Security Council placed the requests of the Serbian and Russian representatives on the agenda.

Like the Serbian minister of Foreign Affairs Vuk Jeremic had done earlier, in the session of February 14, 2008, Serbian president Boris Tadic defined Kosovo's independence as, "An illegal and flagrant breach of Resolution 1244 and the principles sanctioned with the United Nations

2008 from the Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council United Nations Security Council, S/2008/104 http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:tv0WCly7wNMJ:www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%257B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%257D/Kos%2520S%25202008%2520104.pdf+&cd=4&hl=fr&ct=clnk&gl=ch

[1] See records of session 5839 of February 18, 2008 http://www.un.org/fr/sc/meetings/records/2008.shtml

Belgrade, McDonald's on fire

Charter." According to the words of Serbian representatives, "This resolution and the international law ought to guarantee the sovereignty and integrity of Serbia."[1]

However, in only four short days, from the February 14, 2008 session to the one on February 18, 2008, reality had changed radically, "Kosovo declared its independence and that independence, since the first day, was recognized by a few countries."[2]

While Jeremic insisted that the UN condemn Kosovo's intention of declaring of independence as a preventive measure, Tadic demanded that the Security Council revoke Kosovo's Declaration of Independence; while Jeremic importuned all countries to protect the sovereignty and integrity of the state of Serbia, Boris Tadic demanded that the countries

[1] Ibid.

[2] Proclamation was made on Sunday, February 17, 2008. The next day, February 18, these contries recognized Kosovo's independence: UK, France, United States of America, Turkey, Afghanistan and Albania.

that had recognized Kosovo as a independent and sovereign country, revoke their unfriendly decisions.[1]

Besides insisting that "Resolution 1244 of the Security Council and the principles of the United Nations Charter confirmed the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of Republic of Serbia, including Kosovo and Metohija." Tadic reminded the members of the Security Council that, "Serbia was one of the founding countries of the UN."[2]

In this statement, the Serbian president did not allow the facts to get in his way: the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia had been one of the founding countries of UN, but Serbia was only one of the constitutive elements of this federation. When the UN was founded, Serbia did not exist. Indeed, if Serbia could claim to be a founding member of the UN, so could Kosovo. The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia consisted of eight federal units: six republics (Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, and Macedonia) and two autonomous provinces (Kosovo and Vojvodina). The last two units constituting this federation had their territory, their self-governing administration, their legislative, executive and judiciary institutions, and their own constitutions. Following the dissolution of the federation, which had major consequences in terms of human and material destruction, seven independent states were created. Only Vojvodina remained under the heel of Serbia,

This bombastic rhetoric was a lame attempt by Boris Tadic to efface the fact that out of the violent breakup of the Yugoslavian federation, a founding country of the UN, six new independent states had been created before Kosovo declared its independence. The Serbian president needed to downplay this consequence of the breakup of FRY in order to present the case of Kosovo as, "A precedent that undermines irrevocably the world order."[3]

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[1] Nations Unies, Conseil de sécurité, S/PV.5839
See records of session 5839 of February 18, 2008, p.24
http://www.un.org/fr/sc/meetings/records/2008.shtml

[2] Ibid, p. 4

[3] Ibid, p. 5

Only by the Russian representative Vitali Churkin,[1] and the representative of Vietnam, Le Luang Minh,[2] supported Tadic's position. Furthermore, even the representatives of China,[3] Wang Guangya, and of Indonesia, Mohammad Marty Muliana Natalegawa, expressed regret that there had been no efforts to find a solution to the issue of Kosovo's final status through negotiation. These two nations reasonably viewed the situation in Kosovo as, "A case of special nature;[4] inseparable from the context of the dissolution of the former Federal Republic of Yugoslavia."[5]

Representatives of other member countries of the Security Council also refused to treat the independence of Kosovo as a new precedent. The Belgian representative, Johan Verbeke, reminded the membership that nobody could ignore the fact that Kosovo's independence was closely related to the historical context of Yugoslavia's dissolution, the result of which was the creation of several new independent countries. Verbeke argued that Kosovo's independence could be viewed only within this process and therefore could not be considered as a precedent.[6] The ambassador of the United Kingdom, John Sawers, noted that the judgment of his country was based on "The unique circumstances within the violent dissolution of Yugoslavia and the unprecedented administration of Kosovo by the UN, and based on these circumstances the British Government assessed that Kosovo is a *sui generis* case, which could not constitute any kind of precedent."[7] He also stated that "Resolution 1244 was not restraining in any way the solution on the status, and that Article 11 paragraph (a) of this resolution stated clearly that the substantial autonomy of Kosovo within the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, was a temporary arrangement until a final solution was found."[8]

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[1] Ibid, p. 7
[2] Ibid, p. 15
[3] Ibid, p. 8
[4] Ibid, p. 8
[5] Ibid, p. 11
[6] Ibid, p.9
[7] Ibid, p.14
[8] Ibid, p.13

Zalmay Khalizad, the US Ambassador in the UN, also defended this position. He said he understood the fear expressed by some that perhaps Kosovo's independence would serve as a precedent for other parts in the world. He elaborated his argument in the following passage:

It is true that Kosovo is a special case, which was treated as such by the UN since 1999. As we have repeated too often, the violent and non-consensual fall of Yugoslavia, the policy of violence and ethnic cleansing applied by Milosevic which prompted the international community to act, the adoption of Resolution 1244 (1999) by the Security Council, according to which Serbia had not been exercising the normal governing authority for some time, and the political process for the final determination of future status of Kosovo, under the supervision of the UN, are equally significant factors distinguishing Kosovo and other conflict situations. All these make the case of Kosovo not to be considered a precedent for other regions. Recognition of independence of Kosovo by my country is based on the specific situation that characterizes Kosovo now. We have never considered, consider nor will we ever consider in the future the example of Kosovo as a precedent for other conflicts.[1]

The Croatian ambassador, Nevel Jurica, also believed that the decision of Kosovo's assembly to declare independence should not be viewed as an isolated case. Since the beginning it was a unique case, *sui generis*, which demanded a unique solution.[2] The Ambassador of France, Jean-Maurice Ripert, said that, "Kosovo declared its independence in compliance with international law and it's up to each country to decide whether they will recognize or not the new state." The president of the Republic of France, Nicolas Sarkozy, informed the President of Kosovo in a letter that, "France recognized Kosovo as a sovereign and independent state."[3] The French ambassador also discussed on the issue of presenting Kosovo as a precedent. He said unambiguously, that "The case of Kosovo constitutes a

[1] Ibid, p. 20
[2] Ibid, p.17
[3] Ibid, p. 20

unique situation, which marks the end of a unique historical process; the dissolution of Yugoslavia during the 90's which was followed by a period of international administration under the auspices of UN."[1]

Serbian president Boris Tadic, attempted to deny that Milosevic's policies were to blame for the untenable position of Kosovo Albanians in the state of Serbia. Representatives of some countries in this table continue to tell us that Slobodan Milosevic is responsible for the situation in Kosovo, and that independence is a result of his mistakes. I would like to answer you that Slobodan Milosevic is no longer with us, and that in 1999, when he was in power, Kosovo did not gain independence. I would like to remind you here, this body of the United Nations, that in the decades even before Slobodan Milosevic, the Albanians of Serbia demanded independence and actively worked to separate.[2]

On this issue, Boris Tadic was completely right: independence had long been a political goal of the Albanian people of Kosovo. However, the political will to separate from Serbia could not be considered as a justification for the implementation of the policy of genocide by the Belgrade regime during the time of Slobodan Milosevic, nor could it justify this policy by the Belgrade regime during the time of Boris Tadic.

The political will of the nation of Kosovo should be recognized to the same extent as the political will of other units constituting the former Yugoslav Federation.

Precisely for this reason, the Permanent Representative of Costa Rica, Jorge Urbina, in this session of the Security Council, announced that his country had recognized Kosovo's independence because, "They were convinced that there was no strong basis which would rule out such a solution and that in this situation the will of the people of Kosovo should be taken into account, who, after the ethnic cleansing find it impossible to live in a country where the majority are Serbs."[3] Urbina's hypothesis

[1] Ibid., p. 21
[2] Nations Unies, Conseil de sécurité, S/PV.5839
See records of session 5839 of February 18, 2008, p.4
[3] Ibid, p. 18

is worth noting. He argued that, “Separated into two independent states, Serbia and Kosovo will be able to restore dialogue and begin the path of cooperation.”[1] This hypothesis was diametrically opposed to the claim that Kosovo’s independence would endanger the stability of the Balkans.

In addition to adhering to the will of the majority of Kosovo's population, most of the discussants emphasized that independence was declared in accordance with the comprehensive proposal of Martti Ahtisaari.

Thus, in the opening speech of the session of February 18th, Secretary General of the UN Ban Ki-moon told the attendees that his Special Representative for Kosovo had informed him that, “The 109 present MP’s of the Assembly of Kosovo had adopted the Declaration of Independence. In the Declaration of Independence, Kosovo was unreservedly accepting the obligations stemming from the detailed proposal for regulating the status of Kosovo, drafted by Special Envoy Martti Ahtisaari.”[2]

In the same spirit, the Belgian Ambassador voiced his approval.

A year ago, the special envoy of the Secretary General, Martti Ahtisaari, presented to us his report and recommendations. The independence, supervised by the international community met the support of a large part of the international community, including the Secretary General of UN and the European Union. Belgium has always considered that the Ahtisaari Plan is the only realistic and sustainable option. Belgium rejoices on the commitments expressed by the Kosovo authorities to implement the provisions of the Ahtisaari plan.[3]

The compliance of the decision of the Assembly of Kosovo's for independence with the proposals of Martti Ahtisaari for supervised independence was mentioned by most of the discussants at the session of February 18th.

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[1] Ibid, p. 18
[2] Ibid., p. 2
[3] Ibid., p. 9

In conclusion to this discussion, I bring you a part of the speech of the representative of Italy, Aldo Mantovani, which summarized and synthesized a number of issues about this topic.

The Declaration of Independence by the Kosovo Assembly did not find us unprepared. This flow of events is a result of the utmost and hard efforts applied by the international community in hope to overcome the differences between parties directly involved. We have strongly supported the long-lasting negotiations, which initially were conducted by the Special Envoy of the Secretary General, chairman Ahtisaari, then by the Trio. As assured by the representative of the European Union within this Trio, Ambassador Ischinger, all possible ways were explored. Continuing negotiations made no sense, because all the means to reconcile the two parties were reviewed. Nothing was promising us that we would reach a common solution even if we'd continue the negotiations for several more months, even years. Unfortunately, all means to find a negotiated solution were exhausted. We have often stated our concern that failure to resolve the situation could not continue too long and, regarding the issue of security, we have expressed our concern about the dangers that would result out of continuation of the status quo. During the December debate, when we reviewed the report of the Trio, Italy declared exactly in this hall, as stated too often here in the UN and other multilateral instances, that it is completely contradictory to request continuation of talks for as long as we affirm that the status quo in Kosovo is unsustainable. The growing insecurity undermines the local population and the international presence on the ground. It is in everyone's interest that Kosovo's status is clearly defined. We have to move to a new stage.

We have declared long ago and we remain convinced that, if the status quo is unsustainable and a negotiated settlement is impossible to find, then an internationally supervised independence such as proposed by the Special Envoy for Kosovo, is the only realistic means to ensure stability and security in Kosovo and the region.[1]

[1] Ibid., p.10

The call to nations by the president of Serbia at the session of the Security Council to refuse recognition of Kosovo's independence did not interrupt the process of new recognitions.[1]

On February 21st the European Council of Ministers formally recognized Kosovo's independence. Following this meeting the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the EU, Romano Prodi, stated that recognition of Kosovo's independence does not weaken at all the friendship and affection with Serbia and that Serbia should not feel abandoned by Europe.[2] But, he added, this decision should be seen in the historical context where, "Kosovo's independence is an inevitable outcome, because Kosovo can not remain permanently under international administration and the Kosovars do not want to remain under the domination of Serbia."[3]

Despite their previous failed attempts to block the process of independence of Kosovo, the Serbian diplomatic corps made a new attempt on March 6, 2008. The Permanent Representative of Serbia to the United Nations submitted a letter[4] to the Security Council in which he demanded an emergency meeting to review the "deterioration of the situation in the Serbian province of Kosovo and Metohija after a unilateral Declaration of Independence."

In session 5850 of the Security Council dated March 11, 2008, convened at the request of Serbia, Vuk Jeremic, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Serbia, reiterated that his country would not accept Kosovo's independence and cautioned that, "Resolution 1244 (1999) of the Security Council imposes on member states the mandatory obligation under Chapter VII to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Serbia."[5]

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1 Since the February 18 session until the beginning of March Kosovo was recognized by Australia, Senegal, Latvia, Germany, Estonia, Italy, Denmark, Luxembourg, Peru, Belgium, Poland, Switzerland, Austria, Ireland, Sweden, the Netherlands, Iceland, Slovenia and Finland.

2 Le nouvel observateur, "Indépendance, Kosovo" http://actu-monde.nouvelobs.com/independance-kosovo.html

3 Ibid.

4 Nations Unies, Conseil de sécurité, S/PV.5839 See records of session 5850 of March 11, 2008 http://www.un.org/fr/sc/meetings/records/2008.shtml

5 Ibid., p.1

Based upon his particular interpretation of Resolution 1244, Vuk Jeremic requested that the countries that had recognized Kosovo's independence review and revoke their decisions, and asked the countries who had not made their decision yet, that they, "Stand with Serbia in order to assist the continuous protection of the international system, which was not completely destroyed."[1]

The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Serbia used the opportunity in his speech to explain the position of the Serbian government regarding the violence during the protests of February 21st. Omitting the fact that these protests were organized by the Serbian government and other parliamentary political parties, Vuk Jeremic tried to minimize the proportion of participants in violence. According to the Serbian minister, "Only a small number of protestors gathered in Belgrade used violence during the attacks on foreign embassies, shops in the city square, and public buildings. On behalf of my government I express my regret to those countries whose embassies were damaged."[2] Jeremic did not mention that the Prime Minister of his country had encouraged the protesters, nor did he mention the anti-American and anti-European speeches given by Serbian celebrities from politics, culture and sports during this protest. Instead, he repeated his claim that "Serbia's culture, beliefs, and history are profoundly European." He continued that his country was, "Willing and ready to immediately sign the Stabilization and Association Agreement with the European Union."[3]

After listening to his speech the Security Council session ended

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[1] Ibid., p.1

[2] Ibid., p.3

[3] Ibid., p.4

[224] Two weeks after my book was released, Serbian media published that the attack on the embassies was an organized attack from political institutions of Serbia. See, among others, articles below: E-Novine, *Završena istraga o paljenju ambasade 2008 godine* (The investigations for the burning of the embassy finished in 2008), March 3rd, 2015 http://www.e-novine.com/srbija/vesti/117224-Zavrena-istraga-paljenjuambasade-2008-godine.html Tanjug, *Šešelj: Sa Nikolićem i DSS dogovoreno kamonovanje ambasada* (Šeelji: We agreed with Nikolic and the Serbian Democratic Party to stone the embassies), March 5th, 2015 http:www.tanjug.rs/novosti/167885/seselj—sa-nikolicem-i-dss-dogovorenokamenovanje-ambasada.htm

without any debate.[1] Despite the fact that no one wanted to speak in this session, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Serbia was unable to hide the fact that his government had asked the Serbian President to disband Parliament because of major divergences within the coalition.

The different nuances, which appeared in the political attitudes of Serbian institutional leaders after February 17, 2008, especially the differences between the President of Serbia, Boris Tadic, and the Prime Minister of Serbia, Vojislav Kostunica, led to aggravated relationships within the governmental coalition. These troubles were directly related to the profound divergences created after the declaration of independence of Kosovo.[2] Boris Tadic, although opposing Kosovo's independence, did not want to give up on the integration of Serbia into Europe, whereas Vojislav Kostunica reiterated the same nationalist position as during the Milosevic regime.

These divergences led the Serbian government, in an emergency session held on March 10th, to announce publicly that, "Due to a lack of a unique and common policy in the coalition government in regard to the issue of Kosovo the government requests from the Serbian president to disband the Parliament and call early elections on May 11, 2008."[3]

On March 13, the Serbian president disbanded the Parliament and announced the date of early elections on May 11, 2008.[4] In his speech to the Assembly of Serbia, Boris Tadic pointed out that, "Elections are a democratic way in which citizens will show how Serbia should develop next few years."[5]

Would they decide similarly to the January 2007 elections, when Vojislav Sesel's radicals won the election, or would the trust be given to a coalition declared to be pro-European?

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1 Ibid., p.3

2 Le nouvel observateur, collection of articles cited above, "Indé-pendance, Kosovo"
Le président serbe Boris Tadic dissout le parlement – March 13, 2008

3 Blic, "Vlada predložila raspuštanje Skupštine" (Government proposes dissolving the sparliament)
Tanjug, Beta, March 10, 2008
http://www.blic.rs/Vesti/Politika/33477/Vlada-predlozila-raspustanje-Skupstine/print

4 DW, "Raspuštena Skupština - raspisani izbori" (Dissolved parliament- elections appointed)
http://www.dw.de/raspuštena-skupština-raspisani-izbori/a-3190558

5 Ibid.

Foreign reactions to Kosovo's Declaration of Independence

Reactions related to the independence of Kosovo were not limited to the views of states and international institutions. Serbian nationalists and radicals and their supporters on the international scene insisted that the recognition of Kosovo's independence revealed the truth that the NATO bombings were done in order to create a false state to serve the military interests of NATO. In addition, they claimed that Kosovo's Declaration of Independence was part of a US plan to discredit the EU and force it to violate the principles upon which it rested.[1] This opinion was recycled through journalists, publicists, philosophers, political scientists, sociologists, historians and politicians whose attitudes were discussed in previous chapters of this book. After the Declaration of Independence, they mobilized again, reiterating their old arguments from the time of NATO's military intervention.

Instead of Kosovo's independence being seen as an aspiration and the political will of Kosovo Albanians, the creation of the new state in Europe was decried as the product of a US conspiracy to support countries that complied with their wishes, and a dangerous move which involved serious risks to peace and stability.

In response to the Serbian appeal against recognition of Kosovo's independence, Jean-Marie Le Pen, the ultra-conservative president of France's National Front, embraced the views of the Serbians, claiming that Kosovo's independence would be an historical mistake with incalculable consequences and that an "Independent Kosovo would be the temple of organized crime in the heart of Europe."[2] In order to sound a bit more distinct from the Belgrade regime's propaganda, Le Pen also sounded the alarm by saying that an independent Kosovo was a danger to Europe because it would turn into a base for the Islamization of the continent.[3] The claim

[1] B92, cited article, "Srbija poništava nezavisnost"
[2] Le nouvel observateur, collection of articles cited above, "Indépendance, Kosovo" "Kosovo: les réactions-21 février 2008"
[3] Ibid.

that the two million inhabitants of Kosovo could effect the Islamization of a continent with over 600 million people is risible. Moreover, it was not wise of Le Pen to suggest that Europeans are a people unsustainable in their beliefs, who could be "forced by the Americans to kneel down and resign their principles." The two parties of the left (the French Communist Party and the Left Party)[1] did not demonstrate a substantial difference from the French leader of the far right, however counter-intuitive that may seem.

To the Communist Party of France, "The hurry of the United States and many European countries, among them France, to lead Kosovo to declare its independence, will not do anything but further aggravate tensions with Serbia and encourage numerous secessionist ambitions in the Balkans, the Mediterranean, and in Kosovo."[2] Meanwhile, the leader of the Left Party of France, Jean-Luc Mélenchon, takes his views far beyond the most extreme of the Serb extremists.

According to Mélenchon, "Some years after the NATO intervention to stop the massacre committed by the Serbs, there were interventions that took place without a UN mandate and granted independence to Kosovo. Indeed, such a thing was ordered!" [3]

Melenchon did not appear to be aware of the fact that Kosovo's independence was the political will of the majority of its people. Despite evidence to the contrary, he insisted that the Americans ordered Kosovo's Declaration of Independence. To make his opinion perfectly clear, Mélenchon told his readers how he really felt, saying that he was, "disgusted by the spectacle of impudence which led to recognition of

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[1] Parti de Gauche, established by a group separated from Socialist Party of France under the leadership of Jean-Luc Mélenchon.

[2] Le nouvel observateur, collection of articles cited above, "Indépendance, Kosovo" "Kosovo : les réactions-21 février 2008"

[3] Le blog de Jean-Luc Mélenchon, "Kosovo no! Cuba si!" http://www.jean-luc-melenchon.fr/2008/02/20/kosovo-no-cuba-si/and Libération, "Il faut briser le tyran pour l'empêcher de briser la revolution" (Tyranny must be broken to prevent the break of the revolution), March 21, 2011 http://www.liberation.fr/monde/2011/03/21/il-faut-briser-le-tyran-pour-l-empecher-de-briser-la-revolution_723004

Kosovo, accompanied with cries of joy while sealing the first act of the tragedy entailed in the new century."[1]

Mélenchon followed his disgust with defiance. He angrily announced that, "Since the end of Second World War, for the first time we see the creation of a state[2] which is absolutely unsustainable, without any historical root, with corrupt administration to the core, entirely in the hands of the mafia and established within the borders of another country. And such a thing was done after a military invasion!"[3]

Jean Luc Mélenchon was the leader of the Left Party and a presidential candidate in France in the 2012 elections, and to him Kosovo was, "a state of no values, which was led by the evil-doers who do business with human organs."[4]

To Mélenchon, not only was Kosovo a "butt state,"[5] it was born in shame. "The American order for the independence of Kosovo is humiliating for the European Union."[6] As for the recognition of Kosovo's independence by France, Mélenchon blames President Sarkozy, whom he accused of having dishonored the French.[7]

Mélenchon argued that the dishonor to France arose from its recognition of Kosovo's independence and the subjugation of the European Union to American interests, a failure of international law. Finally, Mélenchon announced that there were still five great nations of Europe that did not bow to US tyranny. And those gave hope to Mélenchon that, "The tyranny can be broken and the EU can be saved without a revolution!"[8]

Unlike Jean-Luc Mélenchon, who left the Socialist Party to form the Left Party of France, the French essayist Alain Soral abandoned

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1 Ibid.
2 The quotation marks are Mélenchon's
3 Ibid.
4 Libération, cited interview "Il faut briser le tyran..."
5 Mélenchon uses the French word "croupion" which means poultry buttocks. The expression has a figurative sense of things without value.
6 Europian Union written in small letters and quotation marks are of Mélenchon.
7 Ibid.
8 Libération, cited article, "Il faut briser le tyran pour l'empêcher de briser la revolution"

the Communist Party, made a U-turn, and was first integrated into the central committee of Le Pen's National Front in 2007. He abandoned the National Front two years later and then appeared on the list of the anti-Zionists during the 2009 European elections. He is currently identified as a national-socialist. A strange metamorphosis from one extreme to another. Following in the footsteps of Regis Debray, the Alain Soral visited Serbia and Kosovo to see the reality for himself. During this visit he stayed "among the Serbian patriots" and participated in a rally in Belgrade against the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia. On this occasion, Sorel-Alain gave a speech in which he concluded, "Kosovo does not exist! It is the occupied Serbia, where Serbian patriots are prey to Americans, to the Albanian mafia and to Saudi money."[1]

The French national-socialist Alain Sorel tried to explain to his followers that this situation was due to the "strategy of manipulation and destruction of the nations, led by the 'Empire.'"[2] He interpreted the fight against the Milosevic regime as a war against Serbia, which was the first Christian state in Europe to be bombed after 1945 by a "'Christian' alliance."[3]

Like Jean Marie Le Pen, Jean-Luc Mélenchon, and Alain Sorel, who were spreading the Serbian allegation that Kosovo was a dangerous center of organized crime, Xavier Raufer described Kosovo as a "prototype mafia state."[4] Pierre Pean echoed this claim, viewing the whole war in Kosovo as, "A just war of the Americans in the creation of a mafia state!"[5]

Another extremist from the right, Belgium's New Front neo-Nazi, Hervé Van Laethem,[6] joined the left oriented Belgian publicist,

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1 Alain Sorel, "Le Kosovo n'existe pas!" http://wotraceafg.voila.net/soral_kosovo.htm

2 Ibid., Alain Sorel defines USA as an "Empire"

3 Ibid.

4 Geolinks, La Republique du Kosovo http://www.geolinks.fr/geopolitique/fiche-pays-kosovo/

5 Pierre Péan, cited book, *Kosovo : une guerre "juste" pour un Etat mafieux*, p.366

6 Résistances "Nationalistes serbes soutenus par l'extrême droite belge", (Serb nationalists supported by the Belgian extreme left...) http://www.resistances.be/nation07.html

Michel Collon, in speaking out against the independence of Kosovo. Furthermore, Hervé Van Laethem personally participated in the demonstrations of Serbian nationalists against Kosovo's independence, which was organized in Brussels.[1]

To Alain de Benoist,[2] one of the prominent representatives of the Belgian movement "The New Right," NATO's intervention against Milosevic's regime was an act of aggression against Serbia. To him, the Belgrade shelling was done with the intention of supporting Kosovo's separation and its independence.[3]

For those who viewed NATO's attack against Milosevic's regime as an American tool to penetrate Europe, the recognition of Kosovo by the USA and other states was an excuse to mobilize others around the argument that the Americans had planned everything. This anti-American view influenced the German journalist and publicist, Jürgen Elsässer's opinion about the political will and engagement of the Albanians for independence. To him it was not the Albanian people but, "The United States who prepared the process of the unilateral Declaration of Independence of Kosovo on February 17th." By doing so, the United States admitted that the military operations of 1999 represented an invasive war, which opened the door to all the separatist demands throughout the world.[4]

The interpretation of Kosovo's independence as a result of a US plot dominated in anti-American circles. Readers will recall that the proponents of this viewpoint attributed the failure of negotiations in the Rambouillet Conference to the Americans who, according to them, instead of negotiating "had delivered an ultimatum to Serbia, which they were sure would be refused."[5]

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1 Ibid.

2 Philosopher, political scientist and French journalist

3 Blogélément pour la civilisation européenne, "Ukraine: la fin de la guerre fro-ide n'a jamais eu lieu" http://blogelements.typepad.fr/blog/2014/03/laffaire-ukrainienne-est-une-affaire-complexe-et-aussi-une-affaire-grave-à-une-autre-époque-et-en-dautres-circonstan.html

4 Réseau Voltaire, Jürgen Elsässer, "L'indépendance du Kosovo est la mèche d'un baril de pudre" (Kosovo's independence is the fuse to a powder keg) http://www.voltairenet.org/article155095.html

5 Serge Halimi, cited show "Les médias pendant la guerre du Kosovo (1/3),

According to this logic, while the failure of negotiations in Rambouillet was supposed to be an excuse to intervene militarily and to dominate Europe, it was no coincidence that the subsequent failing negotiations, a ruse aimed at the creation of the state of Kosovo, occurred in Vienna, "where the largest US military base in the world was located."[1]

The French historian and journalist Jean-Arnauld Dérens, in an article titled "Kosovo: Independence, and Then?" and published in *Le Monde Diplomatique,*[2] utterly trivialized the efforts to find a joint solution for Kosovo's final status. He described these negotiations as being, "Nothing more than a theater of performing actors."[3] The party responsible is of course the US, which had, "defined the rules since the beginning of the play." The Americans identified their desired outcome, that is, Kosovo's independence and "No concrete efforts were undertaken to find a compromise."[4]

Jean-Arnauld Derens does not mention that continued Serbian domination was and is an unacceptable option for the majority population of Kosovo. And he does not specify what the "compromise" was that should be found. Instead, Derens limited himself to the fact that, "The option of independence was and remained unacceptable to Belgrade and that Resolution 1244 recognized clearly Serbian sovereignty over Kosovo."[5]

Although Derens' position had originally been identical to the Serbian interpretation of matters concerning Kosovo, after the Declaration of Independence, he went well beyond this interpretation. As just one example, when the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Serbia, Vuk Jeremic, raised the question of, "whether the province would be

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[1] Réseau Voltaire,La Boîte de Pandore balquanique, Interview by Silvia Cattori with Dick Marty. It should be noted that the largest US military base in the world is in Fort Bragg, North Carolina. http://www.voltairenet.org/article155903.html

[2] Le monde diplomatique , Jean-Arnault Dérens, "Kosovo : l'indépendance, et après?," 17 février 2008 http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/carnet/2008-02-17-Kosovo

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

able to develop in a sustainable way without Belgrade,"[1] Jean-Arnauld Derens responded unambiguously, "Independent Kosovo had no economic prospects."[2]

In a statement that was stunningly oblivious to the facts, Derens "regretfully" declared that there had not been any efforts to find a compromise between the two sides, although he is not explicit about the precise form this compromise would take. Considering the entire scope of Derens' positions on the issue including the NATO intervention, we can only guess that this so-called compromise was the immediate return of Serbian sovereignty over Kosovo, in compliance with the Serbian interpretation of Resolution 1244.

In this context, it is interesting to note the case of Cathrine Samary, a French economist and someone widely considered to be an expert in the Balkans. To her, the fact that up to the day she wrote her article, "only 54 UN states had recognized Kosovo's independence, out of which 22 were from the 27 EU states, was proof that the UN Resolution 1244, signed by Milosevic at the end of the war, was still in effect." Resolution 1244 retained Kosovo as an autonomous province within Serbia. Relying on this resolution, Serbia requested that the International Court of Justice give its opinion related to the Declaration of Independence.[3]

In the chain of the statements related to the independence of Kosovo Carla Del Ponte also raised her voice.

Carla Del Ponte, who had ended her mandate[4] as prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, was appointed ambassador from Switzerland to Argentina on January 1, 2008. On the occasion of Kosovo's Declaration of Independence she gave an exclusive interview to *Swissinfo*.

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[1] See records of session 5850 of March 11, 2008
Nations Unies, Conseil de sécurité, S/PV.5839, p.2

[2] Le monde diplomatique, Jean-Arnault Dérens, artikulli i cituar, "Kosovo: l'in-dépendance, et après"?

[3] Cathrine Samary, "Kosovo 1999-2009, Quelques mensonges de la pseudo gurre humanitare"

[4] After eight years in office of the General Prosecutor, her mandate ended on December 31, 2007.

In this interview[1] Carla Del Ponte, as a judicial expert, tried to give her "strictly professional"[2] opinion in regard to the Declaration of Independence of Kosovo. Del Ponte claimed that "Kosovo is not enjoying real autonomy because it was placed under NATO and UN control, and that there was a UN Security Council resolution which had to do with Kosovo."[3]

After this observation, Carla Del Ponte contended that, "The situation in Kosovo is very unique and special and this unique and special issue demands a unique and special solution. However, to me as a judicial expert, and this is my strictly professional opinion, Kosovo's independence does not seem at all in accordance with the provisions set by the tradition of international law."[4] Moreover, insisted Del Ponte, "When Kosovo declared its independence, the Security Council did not take any decision, whereas the UN Secretary General requested we refer to Resolution 1244."[5]

The hope that the eventual lack of recognition of Kosovo's independence by other states and the jurisdiction of Resolution 1244 would turn back the process was still very present in the pro-Serbian and anti-American circles. Dick Marty was open about this desire. During the NATO military intervention against the Belgrade regime, as a member of the Swiss Democratic Radical Party, together with 19 MP's of the Swiss parliament, Dick Marty had recommended measures that needed to be taken in order to end the war in Kosovo to the Federal Council of Switzerland. Among the measures was a request to stop the bombing against the Belgrade regime, a request that camouflaged a strategic plan to put Kosovo under Serbian control under the guise of a ceasefire and the deployment of a neutral corps to maintain peace. The composition of the peacekeeping corps would not include troops from

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1 SWISSINFO, "Le Kosovo est un cas particulier" (Kosovo is a special case), March 11, 2008 http://www.swissinfo.ch/fre/-le-kosovo-est-un-cas-particulier-/6488070

2 Expression used by Carla Del Ponte, through which she wishes to convince us on the "neutrality" of the issue at hand!

3 SWISSINFO, abovementioned interview of Carla Del Pontes "Le Kosovo est un cas particulier"

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

the countries that had attacked Serbia. In particular, the Americans were to be ruled out because, "They commanded NATO forces in an illegal operation, without the approval of UN."[6]

After the Independence of Kosovo, the same Dick Marty, this time from the position of chairman of the Foreign Policy Commission of the Council of the States of the Helvetic Confederation, in an exclusive interview published March 12, 2008, stated that, "Kosovo's independence was not decided in Prishtina!"[7] During the interview with the journalist Silvia Cattori, Dick Marty expressed his discontent with Switzerland's haste to recognize Kosovo as an independent state because Switzerland's neutrality was very clear. He said that he "could not understand the position of Lady Calmy-Rey."[8] According to him, she should have supported "a type of autonomy for Kosovo, or some other confederate solution similar to the Swiss model."[9]

The decision of Switzerland to recognize Kosovo was even more "incomprehensible" to Dick Marty because, as he says "that most of the countries have not and will not recognize Kosovo."[10]

From February 17, 2008, when Kosovo's independence was declared, until March 12, 2008, when his interview was published, 26 world countries recognized the new state of Kosovo. While it is true that in the three weeks after the declaration, the majority of UN member countries had not recognized Kosovo's independence, the hypothesis that, "The majority of the countries will not recognize Kosovo's independence," was unsupported. This was presented as a certainty by Dick Marty and revealed his desire for reality to coincide with his dreams. In particular, these remarks revealed clearly Dick Marty's "neutrality."

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[6] L'Assamblée fédérale- le Parlament suisse, Recommendation 99.3171, submitted by Dick Marty, cited above

[7] Réseau Voltaire, cited interview, Dick Marty: "L'indépendance du Kosovo n'a pas été décidée à Pristina,"

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

Before Dick Marty's declaration, 15 out of the 26 states that recognized Kosovo's independence were members of the Europian Union. Today, as I am writing this chapter, 107 out of 197 United Nations member countries recognize an independent Kosovo. Out of those 107 countries, 47 are members of the European Council, and 34 of them recognize Kosovo. The European Union has 28 members, and 23 recognize Kosovo. As you can see, most of the European Union countries, most of the European Council countries and most of the UN member countries have recognized Kosovo despite the wishes of Dick Marty. Earlier in this book, I discussed Dick Marty's uncritical support for the Serbs, his denial of Serbian war crimes, and his vociferous demands for the cessation of NATO bombing of Belgrade. With the same enthusiasm, Marty self-righteously reminded his readers of the necessity to respect "neutrality" on the one hand, while on the other hand he engaged fully with efforts to keep Kosovo under the sovereignty of Serbia.

From his position as the Chairman of the Foreign Policy Commission of the Council of the State of the Helvetic Confederation, Dick Marty tried to justify his position by relying on two points: changes in Serbia and international justice.

Dick Marty claimed that things had changed in Serbia. "Currently Serbia has nothing to do with Milosevic's Serbia."[1] In support of this claim, he delivered the argument that, "On January, 2008, Serbia held elections which were assessed from all the international observers as free and democratic elections." Marty praised the Serbs for demonstrating maturity and acting with extraordinary courage because they had "elected pro-European candidates, although this was not easy for them, after the ten year blockade by Europe."[2]

For the "Maturity and great courage shown by the Serbs by electing pro-European candidates in the January, 2008 elections, they deserved something different from that offered by the West." For this reason

[1] Ibid.
[2] Ibid.

Marty reacted very strongly against "What the West did." Specifically, soon after these elections, the West encouraged Kosovo's independence by humiliating Serbia and pushing it towards the Russian camp. Dick Marty expressed his anger: "To me, this is absurd!"[1] these statements, it is absurd indeed that the chairman of the Foreign Policy Commission of the Council of the States of the Helvetic Confederation took the low road in trying to manipulate the opinions of his readers. Particularly egregious is Marty's deceptive use of an inaccurate date when referring to the elections in Serbia, which were not held on January of 2008 but on January 21, 2007. The former was more conducive to Marty's argument, and he assumed that most people would not know the difference.

In the previous part of this chapter we analyzed the context of the organizational elections of January 21, 2007 and presented the outcome of these elections. In the context of these political developments in Serbia it was clear that these elections, "were not won by the pro-European candidates," contrary to the opinion of Dick Marty. Rather, the elections were won by the Radical Party of Serbia, a party founded and led by Vojislav Sesel who has been imprisoned in the Hague since 2003. He is accused of crimes against humanity and is awaiting trial.[2]

The militant Dick Marty is himself absurd, wearing his anti-American blinders, from which he views everything that has happened in the Balkans. The independence of Kosovo and its recognition by other countries did not push Serbia towards the Russian camp as Dick Marty claimed, but just the opposite. The early elections held on May 11, 2008 were won by the list for a European Serbia.[3]

The extent to which the independence of Kosovo influenced the Serbian electorate to become more aware of the necessity to orient politically towards the Western world is not certain. What is clear is that for the time being, the

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Robert Schuman's foundation, cited article, "Les ultranationalistes arrivent en tête, des élections législatives en Serbie"

[3] Mondo, "Konačni rezultati parlamentarnih izbora" (Final results from parliamentary elections) http://mondo.rs/a99517/Info/Specijali/Izbori-2008/Konacni-rezultati-parlamentarnih-izbora.html

recognition of Kosovo's independence by the majority of European Union countries certainly did not push Serbia towards the Russian camp.

Dick Marty knew this perfectly well when he tried to manipulate his readers. The facts were inconvenient, but he did not let them get in the way of his story—that the EU had pandered to Kosovo and the US.

He was disappointed that the Western world had not responded to the Declaration of Independence differently. The European Union in particular, could have released a statement addressed to all the countries in the region and said to them, "We suggest that all of you cooperate with the European Union and agree that Kosovo will enjoy an extended autonomy." The Serbian president, Boris Tadic, arrived at the European Council and, despite his difficulties he declared in front of the representatives of 47 states, "We agree to recognize Kosovo's autonomy in the most extended model possible. I do not understand why we haven't used this opportunity."[1]

Dick Marty's claim of neutrality is absurd. Reiterating Milosevic's position for autonomy within Serbia that was drafted by Belgrade's propaganda machine, Dick Marty saw a good opportunity to raise his level of recognition on the world stage. To this end, Marty presented this old model as a new proposal for resolving the status of Kosovo and something that had been difficult to persuade Serbian president Boris Tadic to accept. This was Marty's big accomplishment!

Dick Marty was not interested in what the Albanian nation of Kosovo found difficult to accept. Ultimately, the Albanian nation of Kosovo was not worth the consideration of this "neutral" politician from Switzerland. Marty referred to them dismissively as only "Albanian speaking people."[2]

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[1] Réseau Voltaire, Intervista e cituar, Dick Marty : "L'indépendance du Kosovo n'a pas été décidée à Pristina"

[2] Assamblée fédérale, "Rapport de la Délégation parlementaire suisse auprès du Conseil de l'Europe, du 31.12.2008"
http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:b2264FDLmpEJ:www.parlament.ch/sites/kb/2009/Rapport_de_la_commission_DCE_09.014_2008-12-30.pdf+&cd=1&hl=fr&ct=clnk&gl=ch, p. 9 and "Débat d'actualité: les conséquences de la déclaration d'indépendance du Kosovo" (April 16, 2008) – Dick Marty
http://www.parlament.ch/d/organe-mitglieder/delegationen/del-er/sessionen-archiv/april-2008/

According to his interpretation, “In international law, self-determination of nations is a subject to a number of conditions. A nation, to be recognized as such, needs to exist. Kosovo is not such a case. The United Nations never before recognized a country which was separated from another country against the will of the country a part of which it had been.”[1]

The issue of Kosovo in international law was very clear to Dick Marty. In the same spirit as the officials of Serbian political institutions,[2] the Chairman of the Foreign Policy Commission of the Council of the States of the Helvetic Confederation insists that, Resolution 1244 of the UN Security Council speaks on three occasions about Serbian territorial integrity and says that Kosovo is a Serbian province, which shall be provisionally administered by the internationals. Russia would have never accepted this resolution if it did not include the territorial integrity of Serbia. This resolution is still in effect today, because only the Security Council can modify it or revoke it.[3]

For this reason he states, “Kosovo’s Declaration of Independence and its recognition are in contradiction with international law.”

In addition to espousing his Serbian interpretation of international law, Dick Marty expressed his revulsion at the characterization of "The KLA as a virgin and charitable organization.”[4]

At the end of his interview, he warns of the dangers of Western propaganda. To Dick Marty and his cohort considered the KLA to be an instrument that made it possible for the Americans to establish and maintain the largest military base in the world (as we mentioned earlier, the largest military base in the world is actually in North Carolina). To Marty and his ilk, the KLA is, “A criminal organization which provoked the war, killed innocent civilians, and committed other crimes.”

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1 Réseau Voltaire, Intervista e cituar, Dick Marty: “L’indépendance du Kosovo…”

2 The positions of Dick Marty and the positions of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Serbia expressed in the Security Council and cited above are identical.

3 Réseau Voltaire, cited interview, Dick Marty: “L’indépendance du Kosovo…”

4 Ibid.

"A life is made of details, but one detail can change a life."[1]

A month after her "strictly professional" interview, Carla Del Ponte published a memoir covering the period when she was the General Prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. In her memoir she did not leave out Ramush Haradinaj, but there was a critical detail that she left out of her book.

A week before Carla Del Ponte's book was published on April 3, 2008, the trial of the former Prime Minister of Kosovo, Ramush Haradinaj, ended. He was acquitted of all charges and released. This fact may seem to be a small detail to General Prosecutor Del Ponte. However she cannot overlook this detail, because, as the famous poet Goyer Rémi said, "A life is made of details, but one detail can change a life!" The action of the prosecutors of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia was a detail that changed the life of Ramush Haradinaj and his family. When he was released, he had spent more than seven years confined and separated from his family, friends and from the political scene of Kosovo.

The publication of the Del Ponte's memoir, originally in Italian, *La Caccia, Io EI Criminali Di Guerra*[2] *took place on April 11, 2008. A well-known publishing house*[3] in Italy brought out this book, and the huge publicity that followed the publication made Del Ponte's views widely known and gave them credibility.

One element from the book drew particular attention from the media. That was Del Ponte's allegations of human organ trafficking, which she claimed was carried out by the leaders of the Kosovo Liberation Army.

Based on sources of "reliable" journalists who never revealed the identity of their witnesses, the General Prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia had, from 2003, conducted an

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[1] Goyer Rémi, XIX Century poet.
[2] *The Hunt: Me and the War Criminals*, the French edition.
[3] Publishing House "Giangiacomo Feltrinelli," Milano

investigation into the allegations that high and middle ranked officers of the KLA were fully aware of the trafficking of human organs. "They even took an active part in this trafficking,"[1] according to anonymous but "reliable" sources that had informed UNMIK. These crimes continued to the extent that

During the months of summer, 1999, Kosovo Albanians had loaded in their trucks three hundred kidnapped people who were sent to the Albanian side of the Kosovo border.[2] They had selected out of this number of prisoners only those who were young and in good health. They were fed well, regularly checked by a physician, and were transferred to other prison centers in the city of Burrel and the surrounding area. In a yellow house, where one of the rooms was transformed into an improvised surgical clinic, they were extracting the organs of the prisoners. Then, these organs were being transported secretly to Rinas airport, close to Tirana. From there they were sent to clinics abroad to be transplanted into patients who had paid for this service.[3]

The media response to this story was so extreme that the former Prosecutor General's spokeswoman, Florence Hartmann, publicly described the report of Carla Del Ponte as irresponsible.

In an article published in the newspaper *Le Temps* entitled "Carla Del Ponte and her Rumors of Human Organ Trafficking in Kosovo,"[4] Florence Hartmann expressed her amazement that "Carla Del Ponte, whose work consisted of seeking the truth, overcoming obstacles, and fighting denial and manipulation today pulls us down to the darkest time of propaganda."[5]

The re-opening of an issue that was closed five years ago because

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1 Carla Del Ponte, cited book, La Traque, les Criminels de Guerre et moi, p.457
2 Ibid, p.456
3 Ibid, p. -456-457
4 Le Temps, Florence Hartmann, "Carla Del Ponte e les rumeurs de trafik d'organes au Kosovo," April 16, 2008
http://www.letemps.ch/Page/Uuid/db652f96-aa10-11dd-bf59-ad3d6140ad87/Carla_Del_Ponte_et_les_rumeurs_de_trafic_dorganes_au_Kosovo
5 Ibid.

absolutely no proof whatsoever had been found, frustrated the former spokesperson of Carla Del Ponte. For Florence Hartmann, "To speak today, while for five years no new element to support this thesis was put forward, is irresponsible."[1] On the other hand, "It is demeaning to name implicitly those who ordered an unproven crime under the justification that some Kosovo Albanian leaders were suspected of other crimes." [2]

No matter how "irresponsible" and "demeaning" Carla Del Ponte's actions might justly be described, her book made the headlines and served as a pretext for every individual and group who was mobilized against Kosovo's independence.

Del Ponte's attacks were mainly against Hashim Thaci, former political leader of the Kosovo Liberation Army, and who, as the Prime Minister of Kosovo, had declared Kosovo's independence. Also under attack were the most prominent people of the KLA who were active in the political scene.

Del Ponte's book and the harassments based on her book will be discussed more extensively on the next chapter. For now I will only focus on few aspects of the book and its fallout.

On April 15, 2008, the Russian MP, Konstantin Kosachev, submitted to the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe, a proposal for a resolution[3] on the "Inhuman treatment of people, and the illicit trade in human organs."[4]

The MP's who signed[5] this proposal relied solely on the statements of Carla del Ponte, and in their proposal they quoted from her book, alleging that "The Kosovo Liberation Army in 1998 had abducted more than 300 Serbs, Roma, Albanians and members of other ethnic groups.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Conseil de l'Europe, Assamblée Parlementaire, Doc. 11574, 15 avril 2008
Traitement inhumain de personnes et trafic illicite d'organes humains au Kosovo
http://www.assembly.coe.int/nw/xml/XRef/X2H-Xref-ViewHTML.asp?FileID=11868&lang=fr

[4] Ibid.,

[5] Draft resolution is signed by 17 MP: 2 Russian, 2Ukrainian, 1 Serb, 1 Azerbaijani, 1 Georgian, 1 Polish, 1 Hungarian, 1 Cypriot, 1 Belgian, 1 Swiss, 1 British, 1 Dutch, 1 Portuguese and 1 Finnish.

The victims had vital organs removed and via Rinas Airport these organs were transported to clinics abroad; to be transplanted into patients who were paying for such services."[1]

According to the authors of this resolution, among "The KLA's victims there were also citizens from the member states of the Council of Europe, especially Moldavians, Russians, and Romanians."[2]

One day after this draft-resolution, in the session of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe held from April 14 until April 18, 2008, the Swiss and Swedish parliamentary delegations proposed to open a debate on the "Consequences of the Declaration of Independence." An important part of this debate, which took place on April 16, 2008, was Dick Marty's speech. This debate was a prime opportunity for Marty to restate his earlier positions. At the beginning of his speech, he warned that, "What is disturbing is related to the balance of international operations in Kosovo."[3] Marty argued that this balance was extremely negative: Ten years after international administration, we find Kosovo without a genuine civil society. All those concerned about the crime know that Kosovo, alas, has always been, and perhaps today is more then yesterday, a center of international crime and organized crime. The economic situation is catastrophic; the minorities can no longer live in Kosovo unless protected by foreign troops." And of course this worsens the situation, which, according to Marty, was created precisely by the international intervention in Kosovo and the disregard of international law. He stated that, "This began with the bombing of NATO. A bombing contrary to international law and without the approval of the Security Council, and after flagrant violation of Resolution 1244 of the Security Council which guaranteed the territorial integrity of Serbia!"[4]

It is hard to know the degree of influence of Dick Marty's speech,

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[1] Ibid.
[2] Ibid, item two of draft resolution
[3] Cited report Assamblée fédérale, "Rapport de la Délégation parlementaire suisse auprès du Conseil de l'Europe, du 31.12.2008," p. 9
[4] Ibid.,

held in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe on April 16, 2008, but what could certainly be concluded after this speech was the fact that the investigations of charges of inhumane treatment of people and illegal trafficking in human organs in Kosovo were attributed to Dick Marty. Believers of the Belgrade regime's propaganda and those who saw every world event through the filter of anti-Americanism, lined up to support this outrageous accusation. Marty's and by implication, their position was that "Violation of international law and especially of Resolution 1244 of the UN Security Council," constituted the main pillars for denying the legitimacy of the new state of Kosovo.

Encouraged by anti-American circles that were, "Viewing the new state of Kosovo as the biggest US military base in the world," Serbia took the initiative to find support within the General Assembly of the UN.

In the 63rd session of the General Assembly of the UN, on October 8, 2008, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Serbia Vuk Jeremic submitted for approval a draft-resolution,[1] which demanded that the Assembly seek the opinion of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) on Kosovo's Declaration of Independence. In his address to the UN General Assembly, the Serbian minister of Foreign Affairs presented the motives for this demand. Among other things he emphasized that

On February 17, 2008, the provisional institutions of the autonomous self-governance of the Serbian Southern province of Kosovo and Metohija declared unilateral independence. We ruled out the possibility of using force and applied economic sanctions to this province that sought separation. Serbia has decided to defend its sovereignty and territorial integrity by redressing to diplomacy and international law. Regarding the legality of the unilateral Declaration of Independence, we decided to seek advisory opinion from the ICJ. Having transferred the matter to the court, the Republic of Serbia considers that we can avoid having the crisis of Kosovo become an extremely problematic precedent to other

[1] UN, General Assembly, Draft resolution A/63/L.2

regions through the world or to secessionist ambitions in many existing situations. We also believe that the Court's advisory opinion would provide a politically neutral opinion to numerous countries that are still wondering how to regard the unilateral Declaration of Independence of Kosovo in relation to the international law. This would enable them to find answers from a legal perspective.[1]

On October 8, 2008 UN General Assembly adopted the resolution[2] in which they asked the International Court of Justice[3] to give its advisory opinion on the Declaration of Independence of Kosovo. Specifically, the court was asked to answer the question, "Is the unilateral Declaration of Independence by the Provisional Institutions of Self-Government of Kosovo in accordance with international law?" The next day on October 9th the Secretary General of the UN, Ban Ki-moon, sent the request to the president of the International Court of Justice.[4]

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[1] See records of session 63 of UN General Assembly, dated October 8, 2008 (A/63/PV.22) http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/63/PV.22&Lang=F

[2] With 77 votes Pro, 6 votes Con and 74 abstaining draft resolution A/63/L.2 was adopted and took the form of a resolution of the General Assembly of the UN (Rezoluta A/63/3, 8 tetor 2008 See records of session 63 of the UN General dated October 8, 2008 (A/63/PV.22) http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/63/PV.22&Lang=F

[3] The main body of the United Nations justice

[4] Cour Internationale de Justice "Conformité au droit international de la déclaration unilatérale d'indépendance relative au Kosovo (requête pour avis consultatif)" http://www.icj-cij.org/docket/index.php?p1=3&p2=4&code=kos&case=141&k=21&p3=0

EPILOGUE TO CHAPTER SEVEN

On July 22, 2010, the International Court of Justice announced its decision[1] on the question "Is the unilateral Declaration of Independence by the Provisional Institutions of Self-Government of Kosovo in accordance with international law?"

Originally the ICJ examined the Declaration of Independence in relation to general international law. In its argumentation on this issue, the ICJ mentioned that

> *Declarations of independence were frequent during the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries, which were often accompanied by harsh reactions from the countries from which they were seceding. Some of these declarations resulted in the creation of new states, while others did not. In general, in the practice of states, the declaration of independence of a state is not considered a violation of international law. Rather, from the practice of states of this period it appears clearly that the international law did not prohibit declarations of independence in any way.*[2]

In the same paragraph, the ICJ brought examples of the establishment of many new nations during the second period of the 20th century and stated that "International law had changed a lot, especially in relation to self-determination of oppressed, dominated, and exploited populations."[3]

In addition to these cases, which are associated with the anti-colonial period, the ICJ also mentioned the founding of states outside of this historical context, "Out of the whole practice of states there are no cases where a new rule emerges from the international law which would prohibit a declaration of independence."[4]

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[1] Cour Internationale de Justice, Recueil des arrêts,
"Avis consultatifs et ordonence, Conformité au droit intrenational de la déclaration unilatérale d'indépendance relative au Kosovo", Avis consultatif du 22 juillet 2010
http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:9gmsceY1itoJ:www.icj-cij.org/docket/files/141/15987.pdf+&cd=1&hl=fr&ct=clnk&gl=ch

[2] Ibid., see paragraph 79

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

The ICJ responded even to those who claimed that, "The prohibition of declarations of independence is embodied within the principle of territorial integrity of states."[1] In regard to this issue, the ICJ emphasized that in cases when the UN Security Council had condemned declarations of independence of certain countries, "Which had acted so, not because they had declared unilateral independence, but due to the use of violence or serious violations of norms of the general international law."[2]

This aspect of the problem arose when the cases of South Rhodesia, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, and of Republika Srpska were considered. In these cases, the Security Council held a clear position against declarations of independence and demanded the protection of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the states of origin. Whereas, in the case of Kosovo, despite Serbian and Russian efforts, the Security Council took no position on the future status of Kosovo that would confirm Serbia's sovereignty over Kosovo.

Having considered all the arguments that dealt with this aspect of the request, the General Assembly of the UN concluded that general international law does not contain any impediment to declaring independence. The ICJ announced its conclusion that, "Kosovo's Declaration of Independence, dated February 17, 2008, did not generally violate international law."[3]

Following the decision of the ICJ, paragraph 85-121, the compatibility of the act of Declaration of Independence with Resolution 1244 of the Security Council and with the constitutional framework was considered.

The ICJ reiterated that Resolution 1244 constituted the legal basis for the deployment of an international civilian mission (UNMIK) and a security mission (KFOR) in Kosovo, which aimed at establishing the necessary security conditions, the supervision of the process of

[1] Ibid., see paragraph 80
[2] Ibid., see paragraph 81
[3] Ibid., see paragraph 84

establishment of provisional, self-autonomous, democratic institutions, awaiting a political solution (Resolution 1244, paragraph 11).

Based on previous practices of the Security Council of the United Nations, where the restrictive conditions were determined regarding the final status of a given territory, the ICJ used the case of Cyprus, and the Security Council reaffirmed its position that, "The solution of the Cyprus issue must be based on Cyprus as a sovereign state with an international character and a unique statehood, independence and territorial integrity guaranteed."[1]

Resolution 1251 of the Security Council, which confirmed that the solution should be seen within the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus, was adopted on June 29th, 1999, 19 days after the adoption of Resolution 1244 on Kosovo.

The content of Resolution 1244 proves that the Security Council did not determine the final status of Kosovo and the resolution did not contain any impediment to declaring independence on February 17, 2008.[2]

For this reason, "The court concluded that Resolution 1244 of the Security Council does not represent an obstacle to the authors of the statement of February 17, 2008 to declare the independence of Kosovo from Serbia, and consequently, the Declaration of Independence did not violate Resolution 1244 of the Security Council."[3]

At the end of its decision, the ICJ dealt with the compliance of the act of the Declaration of Independence within the Kosovo Constitutional Framework. In that matter, it brought to the court facts mentioned by the Secretary General of the United Nations in his report[4] that in "The elections of November 17, 2007, which were considered by all international observers as fair and democratic, Kosovo created its central and local institutions."[5]

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1 Ibid., see paragraph 114
2 Ibid., see paragraph 118
3 Ibid., see paragraph 119
4 Conseil de Sécurité, doc. S/2007/768 of January 3, 2008 http://www.un.org/fr/peacekeeping/missions/unmik/reports.shtml
5 Cour Internationale de Justice, cited above, "Avis consultatifs et ordonence... Avis consultatif du 22 juillet 2010", Paragraph 73

The Kosovo Assembly, created in sessions 4 and 9 of January 2008, was pronounced to be the legitimate basis for the new state, and "The authors who proclaimed independence of Kosovo have not violated the Constitutional Framework of Kosovo."[1]

Thus, relying on the arguments presented and discussed in 121 paragraphs, the International Court of Justice announced its decision that the act of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence of February 17, 2008, "Did not violate either the general international law, neither the Resolution 1244 of the Security Council, nor the Constitutional Framework of Kosovo. Therefore, the adoption of this statement has not violated any applicable rule of international law."[2]

[1] Ibid., paragraph 121
[2] Ibid., paragraph 122

PART TWO

THE SPONSORING OF THE "ALBANIAN MAFIA"

CHAPTER ONE

PROLOGUE TO CHAPTER ONE

The society of Kosovo is not a society affected by organized crime, but a society based on organized crime!

Precise territorial and clan division of most of the territory of the Albanian society contributed to the preservation of tradition based on organized hierarchical structure, closed towards the outside world and with very strict respect to internal disciplinary rules. The implementation of this discipline was made possible thanks to the application of the "Kanuni i Leke Dukagjini" (a code of law instituted among the tribes of northern Albania), which is applicable even today. Whoever violates this clan code faces the consequences of treason and breaking the agreement.

The particularity of the common model of internal organization of the Albanian terrorist and criminal structures is adhering to the principle of territorial division, always respecting the areas of interest and areas of influence of certain families.

Therefore, for example in Drenica dominate families Geci, Kodra, Jashari, Selimi, and most of the KLA representatives come from these families. The same applies to the Metohija region where the Haradinaj family has a dominant position.

Most criminal actions in Kosovo and Metohija occur within family clans that control certain parts of the territory. The clans are connected and have strong cooperation with similar criminal groups from other European countries, mainly from Turkey, Albania and Bulgaria, because the territories of these countries represent the main routes through which illegal trade takes place.

Behind national and ideological motives to create a unique Albanian state, regardless whether it will be called Greater Albania or Greater Kosovo are hidden the interests of some criminal structures who are

trying to become a part of the existing political and economic processes to legalize their criminal affairs.

In controlling these two roads from the Albanian mafia a special role is played by the Albanian immigration. In addition to the narcotics trade, the Albanian mafia has put under its control the international prostitution, illegal arms trading, cigarettes and other excise tax goods, stolen vehicles, human trafficking and sale of human organs.

In short, the Albanian terrorism and mafia are a problem not only to Serbia, but the entire region and therefore the fight against them needs extensive international cooperation at all levels."

Government of Serbia, the White Paper on Albanian Terrorism and Organized Crime[1]

In this chapter the reader will be able to see the source of the notions of *Albanian Islamic fundamentalism*, *The KLA Stalinist Marxism-Leninism* and *The Albanian Mafia* as the basis for a three-pronged attack that was designed and disseminated through the *White Books* of the Serbian Secret Service in order to demonize Albanians.

The *White Books* and the Strategy of Demonizing Albanians

Along with the plan to change the demographic composition of Kosovo, the Serbian regime prepared a strategy to hide evidence of their crime. For this purpose they created the strategic headquarters directly controlled by Milosevic, consisting of members of the Serbian Secret Service led by Radomir Markovic, the former head of this service.

In the previous chapter there was a discussion of some aspects of this strategy, the consequences of which are felt even today.

For just one example, as I am writing this chapter a building covering

[1] Vlada Srbije: Bela knjiga o albanskom terorizmu , p.7, 8, 23, 29
http://fr.scribd.com/doc/63883383/Vlada-Srbije-Bela-knjiga-o-albanskom-terorizmu-2003-opsti-deo
Albanski terorizam i organizovani kriminal na Kosovu i Metohiji
http://sorryserbia.com/wp/belaknjiga.pdf

a mass grave is being demolished in the city of Raska. You may recall from an earlier chapter that the 37th Motorized Brigade of the Yugoslav Army, which operated in Kosovo since 1998 was transferred entirely to Raska, Kosovo in March 7, 1999 and remained there until the end of the war. After the end of the war, this brigade left Raska, leaving behind the most monstrous crimes, and attempting to hide the evidence to this day.

What the final outcome of forensic research teams will be remains to be seen. However, we do know that fifteen years after the war, about a thousand Albanian families live in daily anxiety about the fate of their family members who disappeared during the war. Instead of being held responsible for the crimes he committed in Kosovo, Lubisa Dikovic, the commander of the 37th Brigade at that time, was declared a national hero by Slobodan Milosevic. Even after the overthrow of the Milosevic regime, Dikovic was never subject to criminal liability, neither for his participation in war crimes, nor for concealing evidence of these crimes. On the contrary, he was promoted continuously in his military career, and twelve years later, this hero of Milosevic was appointed chief of the general staff of the Yugoslav Army. The reward for his contemptible behavior was the highest military position possible, bestowed on him by the "democratic" president of Serbia, Boris Tadic![1]

The promotions of Serbian military, police and Secret Service personnel who committed monstrous crimes in Kosovo to higher positions in the post-Milosevic government do not just prove the opposite of Dick Marty's claim that "Today's Serbia has nothing to do with Milosevic's Serbia"; these promotions also reveal the reasons why Tadic was not able to offer Kosovo any more than Milosevic had.

Examples of Serbia's policy of immunity for war criminals have appeared throughout this book. Now we will turn to a related issue: the strategy of the Belgrade regime to stigmatize Kosovo Albanians, especially those who resisted the Serbian government's dominance in Kosovo.

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[1] A topic discussed in thoroghly in Chapter six of Part One.

It is very interesting to make an analysis of the political context of the international scene to see how stigmatizing the Albanians with whatever negative label is in fashion at the time was "naturalized," or made to seem more of a fact than an argument.

For example, in the historical period of the creation of national states in the Balkans, Albanians were stigmatized as, "The waste of the Ottoman Empire, who wanted to preserve Turkey's presence in Europe." After World War II, when socialist Yugoslavia had excellent relations with the Soviet Union, the Albanians were labeled as anti-Communists and servants of the Nazis and Fascists. Following the dissolution of Yugoslavia's relations with the Soviet Union, the Albanians were accused of being Stalinist, and after the outbreak of the 1981 demonstrations they were accused of being nationalists, irredentists, separatists and so on.

At the time of the outbreak of armed struggle and the collapse of the Yugoslav Federation, Albanians were accused of "religiously motivated terrorism," which was the most negative description appearing in the international political context. For this reason, internationally, the stigmatization of the KLA as a terrorist organization with Islamic fundamentalist views constituted one of the main pillars of the systematic demonization of Albanians constructed by the strategic headquarters of Milosevic's regime.

To serve this strategy, Serbian state security prepared the material entitled *White Book: the Terrorism of the Albanian Separatists in Kosovo and Metohija*[1] and published in English[2] and French[3] in September 1998. This propagandistic material was distributed for free by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of what was left of Yugoslavia, to important institutions in public relations, institutions of UN member

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[1] Министарсво иностраних послова Југославије, Бела књига: Тероризам Албанских сепаратиста на Косову и Метохији, Ministria e Punëve të Jashtme të Jugosllavisë, Beograd, shtator 1998, p.125 (versioni elektronik), shih: http://www.srpskapolitika.com/Izdvajamo/bela-knjiga/knjiga-1.html

[2] English edition: *Terrorism in Kosovo and Metohija and Albania*: *White Book*- Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Belgrade, september 1998, p.218

[3] French edition: *Le terrorisme au Kosovo et en Metohie et en Albanie (Livre Blanc),* Ministère Fédéral des Affaires Etrangères, Belgrade, septembre 1998, p. 226

countries, international media, university libraries, and prominent figures in various intellectual fields. A version of this *White Book* was republished by the Milosevic regime in 1999[1] and 2000[2], 2001 and 2003.[3] It was supplemented and modified in accordance with the changes in international political contexts, and republished again by the "new" regime of Belgrade.

Political and ideological labels (separatism and Islamic fundamentalism), dominated the first version of this book; later versions were supplemented by characterizations of the political leaders of Kosovo Albanians as criminal groups and mafia. The only thing that remained constant in all the publications from Belgrade about the mobilization of Kosovo Albanians was the description of Albanians as terrorists.

In line with the view that terrorism was a global threat that could occur in any country, large or small,[4] the authors of the *White Book* emphasized the necessity of coordinating the war against terrorism in a global, regional and a national context.[5]

By presenting themselves as victims of "Albanian terrorism," the Belgrade authorities asked that this "terrorism" be considered as a problem not only of Serbia, but the whole region, a maneuver to reframe the fight against the Albanians as a problem that required extensive international cooperation at all levels.[6]

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[1] Cited book, Злочини албанских терориста 1995-1998

[2] Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Terrorist acts of Albanian terrorist groups in Kosovo and Metohija : documents and evidence 1 January 1998 - 10 June 1999*, III, Part One & Part Two p. 1023, Belgrade, 2000

[3] Vlada Srbije: Albanski terorizam i organizovani kriminal na Kosovu i Metohiji, Beograd, December 2003, p.189 (electronic edition) see: http://sorryserbia.com/wp/belaknjiga.pdf
Albanian Terrorism and Organized Crime in Kosovo and Metohija (K&M)
BIA (Security Information Agency), Belgrade, September 2003
http://www.kosovo.net/albterrorism.html
Albanian Terrorism and Organized Crime in Kosovo and Metohija (K&M)
White paper published by the Serbian government, September 2003
http://arirusila.files.wordpress.com/2008/07/albanian-terrorism-and-oraganized-crime-in-kosovo-and-metohija-km.pdf

[4] French edition, *Le terrorisme au Kosovo*..., Belgrade, septembre 1998, p. 12-13; English edition p.11-12, electronic edition in Serbian, p.2

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid.

To ensure international support in the fight against "Albanian terrorism," political organizations operating in Kosovo were described as Terrorist groups that use violence against the civilian population, Serbs, Albanians and members of other ethnic groups living in the province, as well as against the police and the Army of Yugoslavia. Besides terrorist actions at the local level they establish links with Islamic terrorist groups operating globally and are funded in a similar way as other terrorist groups by providing funds through violence or drug trafficking.[1]

Prior to a discussion of the overall impact of this campaign, it is important to focus on some of the pillars of the Serbian strategy for the stigmatization of the KLA. This will allow me to show the ways in which notions like "Islamic fundamentalism of the KLA," "the KLA's Stalinist Marxism-Leninism," and the "Albanian Mafia" were fabricated by Milosevic's strategic headquarters in view of legitimizing their military and police aggression in Kosovo.

The KLA and Islamic Fundamentalism

Yugoslavia's diplomatic missions had distributed the *White Book* prepared by the intelligence services of Serbia to every influential country in the international political scene. The *White Book* told the reader that more than 1,000 foreign mercenaries from Albania, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Afghanistan, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia were engaged within the ranks of the KLA.[2]

To better promulgate the idea of the Kosovo liberation war as a religious war, the authors of the *White Book* falsely claimed that at the 18th Islamic Conference, held in Pakistan in 1998, the Albanian separatist movement of Kosovo was defined as a "jihad," and all Muslim countries were invited to liberate these occupied Muslim territories. Responding to this call, they contended, a number of fanatical Islamists

[1] Ibid., French edition, p.17, English edition, p.15-16, Serbian edition p.2
[2] Ibid., French edition, p.207, English edition, p.199, Serbian edition, p.9

from Afghanistan, Algeria, Egypt, Chechnya, Iran and other countries were included in the unit command headquarters of the KLA in Kosovo as instructors for special military training to several KLA formations.[1]

This fabrication was intended to manipulate people who feared Islamic fundamentalism and had no knowledge of the actual developments in the Balkans or of Serbia's history with Muslims. At the same time, this lie supported politicians like Jean-Marie Le Pen who were warning the Europeans about the dangers of their Islamicization from an independent Kosovo, or journalists and pundits who sought to stigmatize any support given to the Kosovo liberation war as support for a war with religious connotations.

Aware that the reality was quite different, the manufacturers of this lie hoped that the information would not be verified. Anyone who did even a little research could discover that the 18th Islamic Conference was not held in Pakistan, as claimed in the *White Book*, but in Saudi Arabia,[2] and the dates were the 13th to 16th of March, 1989, ten years before the Kosovo War. Moreover, it was not only unlikely that the Kosovo war would be mentioned ten years before it started. In fact, a review of the records of this conference reveals that Kosovo was not mentioned at all.

As regards Pakistan, the 21st Islamic Conference was held in this country from the 25th to 29th of April 1993.[3] So, even the conference that was in Pakistan was held before the outbreak of the war in Kosovo. It is impossible to describe as a "jihad" a war that had not yet begun. During

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1 Vlada Srbije: Albanski terorizam i organizovani kriminal na Kosovu i Metohiji, p.41
http://fr.scribd.com/doc/63883383/Vlada-Srbije-Bela-knjiga-o-albanskom-terorizmu-2003-opsti-deo
Albanski terorizam i organizovani kriminal na Kosovu i Metohiji
http://sorryserbia.com/wp/belaknjiga.pdf
English edition, p.36

2 La dix-huitième conférence islamique des ministres des affaires étrangères
Riyadh, Royaume Diarabie Saoudite, 6 au 9 Cha'abane 1409-H, (13-16 mars 1989)
http://www.oic-oci.org/french/conf/fm/18/18%20icfm-main.htm

3 La vingt-et unième conférence islamique des ministres des affaires étrangères
(Session de l'unité et de la coopération islamiques pour la paix, la justice et le progrès
Karachi, République islamique du Pakistan
4-8 Zul-Oaada 1413 (25-29 avril 1993)
http://www.oic-oci.org/french/conf/fm/21/21%20icfm-main.htm

the Islamic Conference held in Pakistan in 1993, under Resolution 7/21-P dedicated to the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo was mentioned in its item 28. In this resolution it was asked that the UN Security Council undertake necessary measures to prevent the deterioration of the situation, already tense in Kosovo, Vojvodina, Sandzak and the Republic of Macedonia.[1]

As is clear in the records, the opinions expressed in this resolution do not differ at all from the resolutions of the Security Council of the UN. On the contrary, these are less severe than the views expressed by the Security Council resolutions.

In 1998, during the war in Kosovo, the Islamic Conference held its regular meeting in Qatar. The 25th session of the organization adopted Resolution 19/25-P[2] which dealt with the situation in Kosovo. This resolution did not contain any description of the Kosovo war as "jihad," nor did it call on Muslim countries to participate and help liberate occupied Muslim territories as Serbian propaganda had claimed.

The propaganda about the alleged connections of the KLA with Islamic extremist ideology and the claim that Islamic fundamentalist instructors trained KLA soldiers, did not find strong support as expected by the leaders of the Belgrade regime. Apart from a few newspaper articles,[3] that held the obvious stamp of the Belgrade propaganda machine, the efforts to present KLA as a terrorist organization with fundamentalist Islamic views failed. The frustration of the Serbian authorities at this failure was expressed publicly by the Information Minister of the Republic of Serbia, Goran Matic. In an exclusive interview for the

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[1] Rapport et résolution sur les affaires politiques, les minorités musulmanes, les questions juridiques, et de l'information adoptés par la vingt-et unième conférence islamique des ministres des affaires étrangères
http://www.oic-oci.org/french/conf/fm/21/21%20icfm-political-fr.htm

[2] Session Du Conseil Des Ministres Des Affaires Etrangères des Etats membres de l'OCI, 15-17 mars 1998
http://www.oic-oci.org/french/conf/fm/25/Resolutions25-P.htm#19

[3] Të llojit të Xavier Raufer-it,cited book La Mafia albanaise..., p.127-128; Alexandre del Valle, "Réalité sur l'UCK", 26.12.1999, shih:
http://www.mai68.org/textes/uck-par-del-valle.htm; të gazetës "Marianne", apo te disa autorëve të lartpërmendur.

newspaper *Medjunarodna Politika*[1] he declared that, "It is impossible how the Islamic fundamentalists are considered terrorists only when they kill Americans, and when they kill innocent citizens of Yugoslavia they are described as warriors of justice."[2]

The failure of their propaganda that fundamentalist Islamists trained KLA soldiers outraged the Belgrade authorities.

Even worse for Belgrade was the position of the international institutions against the violence of the Serbian military and police forces. This rage went to the point of hysteria, especially after the denunciation of William Walker of the killing of civilians by Serbian forces in the village of Recak. Walker's statement about what happened in this village characterized it this way: "This was a crime against humanity and those who had ordered this crime must be held accountable before the law." Walker's statement made the Belgrade propaganda machine temporarily forget their claims about fundamentalist Islamic instructors who trained KLA soldiers. The "fundamentalist Islamic instructors" became, "Instructors and experts with American or English last names who had come to train KLA soldiers." According to the new position of the Serbian regime's propaganda, "The experts who were training KLA soldiers could be Walker's instructors or mercenaries of different Anglo-American services and organizations."[3]

Readers will remember[4] the Serbian forensic pathologist team that claimed to have discovered three unidentified corpses in Racak had signs on their bodies that indicated that they were not Muslims or members of

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1 English tranlation: International policy.

2 Radio Jugoslavija, "Double standard?", 29.08.1998 http://www.srpska-mreza.com/Kosovo/atrocities/Klecka-2.html

3 Večernje novosti, cited article, "SLUČAJ RAČAK PET GODINA POSLE ..." http://www.novosti.rs/vesti/naslovna/aktuelno.69.html:154641-SLU268AJ-RA268AK-PET-GODINA-POSLE-INSCENIRANOG-MASAKRA--Laz-u-sluzbi-tomahavka---4
Chapter three explains in details the manipulation with the alleged "discovery of the list of 126 terrorists" of the brigade of KLA in Recak.

4 This issue is also discussed in Chapter three

other groups who circumcise at birth.[1]

Belgrade's focus on the practice of circumcision was part of the Belgrade strategy of attributing the "plot against Serbia" to foreign secret services from Western countries.

The circumcision issue was an attempt to implicate American[2] and British secret services in preparing the Albanian terrorists; the authors also tried to implicate the French[3] and the German[4] secret service in relation to the KLA.

To complete the accusation that allegedly the plot against Serbia came from abroad, the Serbian state also denounced the tolerance of the Western democratic countries in relation to Albanian terrorism. These accusations were mostly directed against the German and Swiss authorities. According to the *White Book*, the German authorities released the abandoned military barracks of NATO (Hanover, Nuremberg, Bonn and Frankfurt) to the KLA as camps for hundreds of asylum seekers, and the Swiss authorities had freed their private paramilitary camps, shooting halls and military sports clubs to the needs of the KLA.[5] In a word, according to Serbian propaganda many Western states were mobilized in the conspiracy against Serbia. Despite the fact that the "Anglo-American Instructors" were featured in the Milosevic regime's propaganda about the crimes in Recak, the replacing of "fundamentalist Islamic instructors" with "Anglo-American instructors" did not completely remove the alignment of the KLA with Islamic terrorist groups from Serbian propaganda. In all later editions of the *White Book,* this stigma was kept alive, supplementing it with "new arguments".

Hoping that the new international context created after the

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1 RTV Serbia, cited documentary "Kosovo : Račak Laži i istine"

2 Since 90% of American men are circumsized at birth, they at least are innocent of this charge.

3 Pierre Péan, cited book, Kosovo: une guerre..., p.121-141

4 Réseau Voltaire, L'UÇK, une armée kosovare sous encadrement allemand (KLA - Kosovo Army led by the Germans)
http://www.voltairenet.org/article615.html

5 French edition of *Le terrorisme au Kosovo*...., p. 209, English edition p.204, while the electronic Serbian edition, p.9

September 11 attacks was favorable for disseminating claims of KLA connections with Islamic fundamentalist ideology, the propaganda of the "new" Belgrade government activated the old propagandistic arsenal. The 2003 edition of the *White Book* reiterated Milosevic's statement from his introduction during his trial[1] that "In 1995 Osama Bin Laden had visited Albania as a guest of then president of Albania, Sali Berisha."[2]

The Serbian Secret Service disseminated the claim that this meeting occurred when the basis for logistical and financial support to Al Qaeda and its cells in Kosovo and Metohija emerged.[3] According to this propaganda, in addition to Bin Laden, the meeting was also attended by Muhammad al-Zawahiri, the brother of Al Qaeda's ideologist, and Ayman al-Zawahiri, and on the Albanian side, besides president Berisha, others who attended the meeting were Bashkim Gazideda, former chief of the Albanian Secret Police, Hashim Thaci, and Ramush Haradinaj.[4]

The distribution of this misinformation was aimed at inflaming public opinion in the West, particularly in the US, which had supported the war against Milosevic's regime. The claim that Osama Bin Laden had visited Kosovo and formed Al Qaeda bases in the region was the most outrageous lie invented by the Serbian Secret Service. Unfortunately, although most of the authors who refer to this "information" emphasize that it was impossible for Bin Laden to have stayed in Albania,[5] this story found significant space throughout the media and writings of various Western authors. As such, it represented an opportunity to continue this

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[1] Humanitarian Law Center, Belgrade, Serbia
Trial against Slobodan Milosevic, Traskriptet e seancave:
The opening statement of the accused Slobodan Milošević, 15 February, 2002, p. 241
http://www.hlc-rdc.org/Transkripti/Milosevic/Transkripti/Transkripti%20sa%20sudjenja%20Slobodanu%20Milosevicu%20%282%29/Transkript%20sa%20sudjenja%20Slobodanu%20Milosevicu%20-%2015.%20februar%202002..pdf

[2] Vlada Srbije: Albanski terorizam i organizovani kriminal na Kosovu i Metohiji, p.40
http://fr.scribd.com/doc/63883383/Vlada-Srbije-Bela-knjiga-o-albanskom-terorizmu-2003-opsti-deo
http://sorryserbia.com/wp/belaknjiga.pdf, ndërsa versioni anglisht, p. 35

[3] Ibid., p.40

[4] Ibid., p.40

[5] For example, Jean-Arnauld Derens, RFI, Pour Slobodan Milosevic, la mei-lleure des défenses reste l'attaque, 31.10.2001,
http://www1.rfi.fr/actufr/articles/022/article_11319.asp and "Le piège du Kosovo", p.196)

manipulation with the uninformed readers.

The KLA and the Stalinist-Leninist Ideology

Regardless how unbelievable may seem for a certain group to be stigmatized simultaneously as Islamic fundamentalists and as Stalinists along the lines of Enver Hoxha,[1] that is, simultaneously as religious extremists and as advocates of the ideology that had banned religious beliefs in Albania, the report prepared by Yugoslav and Serbian Secret Services against the KLA is a telling example of this propagandistic paradox.[2]

The claim that the KLA espouses a far-left ideology occupies more than half of the *White Book* in the 1998 edition. A large section of this edition is dedicated to the ideological influence of the communist era of Albania on Kosovo's KLA. In this version of events, a central role was given to the Albanian Secret Service. To boost the credibility of this claim to naïve readers, the Serbian propaganda pundits said they to had discovered that a key person from the Albanian Secret Service, Xhavit Haliti,[3] was connected to the KLA. A brief look at the case of Xhavit Haliti is important here because of his story, created in the laboratories of the Serbian propaganda machine, pandered to anti-American intellectuals. Briefly, Xhavit Haliti was born on March 8, 1956, in the village of Novo Sello, in the Peja district of Kosovo. In 1981 during his student days at the University of Prishtina, Haliti was arrested for his participation in demonstrations. In 1983 he was forced into military service and was then arrested and sentenced to a year and a half as a political prisoner. After

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[1] Enver Hoxha was the first socialist leader of Albania, known for his use of Stalinist methods in dealing with his opponents.

[2] Vlada Srbije: *Albanski terorizam i organizovani kriminal na Kosovu i Meto-hiji*, On the stigma as an extreme left see : 12 while for the Islamic fundamentalism pages 40-44
http://fr.scribd.com/doc/63883383/Vlada-Srbije-Bela-knjiga-o-albanskom-terorizmu-2003-opsti-deo
http://sorryserbia.com/wp/belaknjiga.pdf
English edition, p. 3 and 35-37

[3] Xhavit Haliti was one of the six political representatives of KLA.

serving the sentence' he was returned to Kosovo. In November 1985, after a campaign of arrests undertaken by Serbian police forces against resistance activists, Xhavit Haliti was forced to go underground, and in March 1986, he left Kosovo and sought political asylum in Switzerland.

The basic facts of Haliti's life are relevant because in the writings of those under the influence of Serbian propaganda, Xhavit Haliti was a false name that concealed one of the masterminds of the KLA, who came from northern Albania and had been a member of the Albanian Secret Service, (The Security).[1] Christophe Chiclet and Kole Gjeloshaj spread the story fabricated by the Serbian Secret Service as did Lieutenant Colonel Pierre Arnold, a researcher at the European Strategic Centre for Security Intelligence. They claimed that Xhavit Haliti had once been the head of the Special Service of Tirana (The Security).[2] Moreover, according to Xavier Raufer and Stéphane Quéré, during the Stalinist regime in Albania, Xhavit Haliti had been an advisor to Enver Hoxha and, "Today he is connected with special services and the government of Tirana."[3]

Not only did historians, sociologists, criminologists, reporters and various analysts spread these Serbian-made stories about political and military leaders of the KLA, unfortunately, Western intelligence services also hopped on this bandwagon. Two reports published on the Internet served as a reference for a number of authors: the secret intelligence report of the US KFOR and of NATO[4] and the report of the German Secret Service (BND).[5]

These reports covered a variety of subjects and served as sources for many journalists and analysts. Those uses of the reports will be discussed

[1] *Confluence Méditerranée*, Christophe Chiclet et Kolë Gjeloshaj, Biografies, No 30 Eté 1999, Editions l'Harmattan, p. 178
This article is also published on the interenet: http://www.revues-plurielles.org/_uploads/pdf/9_30_19.pdf

[2] Pierre Arnold, *Kosovo: une république en kit-Quel crédit accorder à la classe politique kosovare?* http://www.esisc.org/upload/publications/analyses/kosovo-une-republique-en-kit-quel-credit-accorder-a-la-classe-politique-kosovare/KOSOVO%20_%20UNE%20REPUBLIQUE%20EN%20KIT.pdf

[3] Xavier Raufer and Stéphane Quéré, cited book, *La mafia albanaise...*, p. 95

[4] SECRET Rei USA KFOR and NATO. J2 SPECIAL PROJECTS, Mars 2004, p.41

[5] BND Kosovo Feb 2005 vs Vertraulich
http://fr.scribd.com/doc/22922472/Bnd-Kosovo-Feb-2005-vs-Vertraulich

further on, but for the moment, I will focus on the information they contained about Xhavit Haliti. In order to increase their credibility, the two reports published many details about Haliti, including his telephone number, his address, and his participation in public meetings of the Democratic Party of Kosovo, where he was a member of the board. These were independently verifiable facts. Almost all[1] the additional information in the reports was taken out of *The White Book*, 2003 edition. Indeed, the secret informative report of the American KFOR and of NATO even went so far as to use Xhavit Haliti's photo from this edition of *The White Book*. The only difference was that the electronic version of the book compiled by the Serbian secret service was black and white, while in the report of the American KFOR, Xhavit Haliti's photo is in color. Perhaps the report's authors imagined that this small change would save them from charges of plagiarism or fool their superiors into thinking that they actually did their own research.

In this report, which claimed to have been thoroughly researched, Xhavit Haliti is also connected to the Albanian Intelligence Service (AIS) and the Security Service, a governmental structure that preceded the AIS. However, in terms of his position he was demoted in the KFOR report. In page 6 of this report, section 5.4, it is reported that Xhavit Haliti, before the war in Kosovo, had been the bodyguard and companion of Fatos Klosi, chief of National Intelligence Service of Albania.

The same information was also published in the report of the BND, the German Secret Service, on page 7, section 2.1.

These inaccuracies were camouflaged as "secret information," but distributed for free on the Internet and were offered as fact to readers from foreign countries, who would not have known that Fatos Klosi was a famous physicist in Albania and had been a university professor before the Kosovo war. After the end of his mandate as the chief of the

[1] Compare to the information published on pages 162-163 of the *White Book* Albanski terorizam i organizovani kriminal na Kosovu i Metohiji http://sorryserbia.com/wp/belaknjiga.pdf

State Intelligence Service in 2002, he returned to the department of the Faculty of Natural Sciences. [1]

Practically speaking, before the outbreak of the war in Kosovo, neither Xhavit Haliti nor anyone else could have been "a bodyguard and companion" to Fatos Klosi in an occupation in which he was not engaged. University professors are not generally granted bodyguards or companions. There are many sources of this nature that reveal the far-reaching influence of *The White Book*'s propaganda. The information in this document appeared very credible to people who were not aware of the facts: Xhavit Hailitu was not born in northern Albania and had never visited Albania until after Enver Hoxha's death. He was not old enough to have been Enver Hoxha's advisor. Since the age of 20, when he enrolled at the University of Prishtina (1976) until 1986, when he was forced to leave Kosovo, Xhavit Haliti had been active against the Belgrade regime and a victim of its persecution. Enver Hoxha died in 1985, never having met his "companion and advisor," Xhavit Haliti.

The KLA and Organized Crime

To avoid disclosure of the embarrassing contradiction between their simultaneous claims that the KLA was a hotbed of religious extremism and the Stalinist-Leninist left, the authors who compiled the *White Book,* came up with a new label with which to defame the Albanians: the term "Albanian mafia."

In the strategy of the Belgrade secret service, organized crime emerged as a face-saving liaison between the Islamic fundamentalism and the hard-line Marxist-Leninists. This connection pervades all editions of the *White Book*. However, in the 2003 edition, Serbia's new government includes "organized crime" in the title of the book.[2]

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[1] Currently the chair of this department.

[2] *Albanski terorizam i organizovani kriminal na Kosovu i Metohiji* (AlbanianTerrorism and Organized Crime in Kosovo and Metohija)

АЛБАНСКИ ТЕРОРИЗАМ И ОРГАНИЗОВАНИ КРИМИНАЛ НА КОСОВУ И МЕТОХИЈИ

129. ЏАВИТ (Мехмет) ХАЉИТИ, звани "Зека"

Рођен 08.03.1956. године у Новом Селу, општина Пећ.

Осамдесетих година, био је члан илегалних екстремних организација које су, у својим платформама, прецизирале циљеве отцепљења КиМ из састава Републике Србије и његовог прикључења Албанији. Након неуспелог покушаја његовог хапшења у Приштини, када је, пружајући оружани отпор, ранио једног припадника РДБ, отишао је у Швајцарску, где је добио статус политичког азиланта. Постао је члан ужег руководства НПК за подручје западне Европе, а као једна од водећих личности тадашње ОВК, био је члан делегације са КиМ у Рамбујеу. Члан је председништва ДПК и посланик Скупштине Косова.

Почетком 1991. године, директно је организовао убацивање веће количине оружја и муниције на подручје Пећи, при чему је као везе користио Гзима Авдиметаја, из Стрезовца, општина Дечани.

SECRET Rel USA KFOR and NATO

J2 SPECIAL PROJECTS

TARGET FOLDER

10 Mar 2004

1. IDENTIFICATION

1.1. Basic Info

NAME	HALITI
FIRST NAME	Xhavit
ID Number	Unknown
Also Known As	ZEKA, Ozekao
Ethnicity	K-ALBANIAN
Nationality	Unknown

Xhavit Haliti in the Serbian White Book on the left and in the report of the American KFOR on the right

The goal of this new publication was made public by high-level authorities of the Serbian state. At a December 7, 2003 press conference, held in the hall of the Assembly of the Republic of Serbia in the presence of many local and foreign journalists, the Serbian prime minister, Zoran Zivkovic[1], accompanied by the deputy Prime Minister and the chief of the Coordination Center for Southern Serbia and Kosovo and Metohija, Nebojsa Covic, as well as by the chief of the Serbian Security Service (BIA)[2], Misa Milicevic, announced the publication of a new version of the *White Book* entitled *Albanian Terrorism and Organized Crime in Kosovo and Metohija*.[3] In this conference, the Serbian Prime Minister declared to the journalists that:

The goal of the publication of this book is to assist those who ought to act against organized crime, primarily UNMIK and KFOR. It has

[1] Appointed to this position after the murder of the former prime minister Zoran Djindzc

[2] Bezbednosno Informativna Agencia (Security Information Agency) was the new name of the Serbian Secret Service

[3] Cited article *Albanski terorizam i organizovani kriminal na Kosovu i Metohiji*
http://www.srpskadijaspora.info/vest.asp?id=4093
Albanian Terrorism and Oraganized Crime in Kosovo and Metohija (K&M)
White paper published by the Serbian government, September 2003
http://www.kosovo.net/albterrorism.html

been discussed that there are no sufficient evidences to undertake such actions, that they miss solid evidences and so on. The book *The Albanian Terrorism and the Organized Crime in Kosovo and Metohija* provides plenty of explanations and facts for the committed crimes in Kosovo and Metohija, which could also be quite interesting for the work of The Hague Tribunal.[1]

In addition to the "assistance" that the Serbian authorities wished to offer to UNMIK and KFOR, the abovementioned Serbian state leaders claimed that "The materials from this book could be of great assistance for the police forces of some of the western Europe countries, where the segments of organized crime as prostitution, human trafficking and illicit drug trafficking are directly connected with the criminal groups from Kosovo and Metohija."[2]

Significantly, in this press conference, the fact that the *White Book* was compiled by the secret service was admitted in public for the first time. All the participants expressed special praise to the chief of the Serbian Secret Service, Misa Milicevic, because this book was published due to this agency and the help of other local security institutions, who had intensively gathered materials and data.[3]

Nebojsa Covic reiterated the strategic orientation established by the old Belgrade regime, to which he used to belong, and which insisted on international mobilization against Albanian terrorism. "Terrorism in Kosovo and Metohija is not only our problem, but [a problem] of the entire region, and therefore to fight against it we need extensive international cooperation at all levels," stressed Covic.

During the press conference there was considerable optimism that the "explanations" of this book, data on the structure of the terrorist organization of Albanian extremists, data on the victims, Albanian mafia activity in the world, as well as lists of specific terrorists and of

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[1] Press conference of the book *Albanski terorizam i organizovani kriminal na Kosovu i Metohiji* http://www.srpskadijaspora.info/vest.asp?id=4093

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

the organized criminal structures in Kosovo and Metohija, will help in setting standards for equal treatment of terrorism in all areas. The hope was expressed that the response to this book would be the strengthening of the war on terror, not only in the region, but throughout Europe.[1]

The optimism of Nebojsa Covic and Misa Milicevic that this time their propaganda would have a greater effect than the previous editions of the *White Book* is based on the allegation that "Great changes had occurred in Belgrade compared to Kosovo, and these should be supported worldwide, because such changes have not occurred yet in Prishtina. In Kosovo and Metohija all the political leaders are at the same time leaders of criminal clans."[2]

"Today's Serbia has nothing to do with Slobodan Milosevic's Serbia," Dick Marty claims again after five years, still without citing his source or providing evidence. When the change of officials of the government in Serbia is presented as "major democratic changes," such a proclamation should not go unchallenged. When people speak of democratic changes it is important to examine precisely what these differences in the positions of the "new" Belgrade leaders and their spokespeople in the West mean.

Nebojsa Covic was a prominent communist in Milosevic's party, who, supported by the latter, was a director in several public enterprises. In 1993, with the direct support by Milosevic, Nebojsa Covic became the chairman of the Municipal Council of Belgrade. In 1994 he was appointed to the post of Mayor of the capital of Serbia. He held this position until 1997.

After being expelled from Milosevic's close circle, Nebojsa Covic founded Democratic Alternative, which in 2000 was merged into the Social-Democratic Party of Serbia. In the first government after Milosevic, he was appointed co-chairman, and in Zoran Djindzic 's government he assumed the post of the Deputy Prime Minister and was appointed at the same time as head of the Coordination Centre for Southern Serbia and Kosovo

[1] Ibid.
[2] Ibid.

and Metohija. He retained this position even after the assassination of the Serbian Prime Minister, Zoran Djindzic.

While in this position, Nebojsa Covic met Carla Del Ponte several times. He submitted the file compiled by the Serbian Department of Jurisprudence, which operated within the coordination center he headed. This file contained more than 27,000 pages[1] compiled by the Serbian Secret Service and included information about the structure of the terrorist organizations of Albanian extremism. This file contained information on victims, on Albanian mafia activities in the world, on the list of terrorists and organized criminal structures in Kosovo, on Kosovo political leaders who were at the same time leaders of criminal clans, on trafficking in human organs taken from of imprisoned Serbs, as well as abundant explanations and facts of crimes committed in Kosovo, which could be quite interesting to the work of the Court in the Hague.[2]

The meetings between Carla Del Ponte with Nebojsa Covic and other Belgrade leaders, as well as her influence in regard to these sources of information will be discussed later in the book. For now I will continue with what was behind the claims of the "great changes" that had occurred in Belgrade.

The Serbian Secret Service that compiled the *White Book* on Albanian terrorism and organized crime had remained intact with its structures preserved even after Milosevic's fall from power and his extradition to The Hague.

In an exclusive survey for the Belgrade newspaper *Vreme*, Dejan Anastasijevic emphasized that when it comes to the Serbian Secret Service, we must not forget that this organization has for decades been a means of political surveillance and oppression. During the rule of Milosevic, this organization became fully criminalized.[3]

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[1] Miroslav Antić, *Obmane Delponteove* (Del Ponte's deceptions) https://www.mail-archive.com/sim@antic.org/msg09784.html

[2] Terminology used in the conference about the *White Book*

[3] *Vreme*, Dejan Anastasijević, *Večni plamen* (Eternal flame), No. 666, 09.10.2003 http://www.vreme.

One of the objectives of the government led by Zoran Djindzic was to reform this Secret Service. The assassination of Djindzic on March 12, 2003, by members of the Service put the future of this reformation in question. What is certain in this case is that entire parts of state security, which had planned and executed attacks against Ivan Stambolic, Vuk Draskovic, and Slavko Curuvija were also implicated in the assassination of Zoran Djindzic.

The Serbian investigative journalist, Dejan Anastasijevic, warned that despite the fact that, "It was proved that 15 of those accused of the assassination of the Serbian Prime Minister were active officers or long-term associates of the BIA, the Serbian government today sees no need to make substantial changes within this Service."[1]

Dejan Anastasijevic paid dearly for his warning about the danger posed by the Serbian Secret Service. Fortunately, he and his family survived an assassination attempt on them.[2]

This Serbian journalist denounced the fact that apart from the leaders of the Special Operations Unit: Milorad Ulemek-Legija, his deputy Dusan Maricic Gumar, and Service chief Radomir Markovic, none of the other members of state security left office. On the contrary, through different machinations and staff transfers from one department to another, a large part of the service members who were involved in earlier crimes were promoted to higher positions.

I will not present the organizational chart of the ten departments of the Serbian Secret Service and the personnel transfers that were made in view of keeping an educated staff to operate in the spirit of Milosevic's dictatorial regime. I will only relate the example of the Secret Service Center for the Serbian capital because of the major role this center has played in the political developments of Serbia.

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com/cms/view.php?id=354426

[1] Ibid.

[2] See article on the assissanation *Pokušaj Ubistva Dejana Anastasijevića i njegove porodice* (Murder attempt to Dejan Anastasijevic and his family) *Vreme*| no 850 | 15 April 2007, http://www.vreme.com/cms/view.php?id=495476

By October 5, 2000, the head of the Service Center for Belgrade was Milan Radonjic, charged with the assassination attempt on Vuk Draskovic, an opponent of Milosevic. Milan Radonjic was acquitted of the charges due to lack of evidence. The head of the First Division of the Counterintelligence Center in Belgrade was Goran Zivkovic, while the head of the Second Division was Misa Milicevic. The two were questioned about the murder of the Serbian Prime Minister, and both were also acquitted of the charges due to a lack of evidence.

Instead of punishment, they were initially removed from duties in the Belgrade center and a short while after, were appointed to higher positions in the Serbian Secret Service. Thus, the former chief of the Counterintelligence Division II in Belgrade, Misa Milicevic, was appointed chief of the Security Information Agency (BIA), while the former chief of the First Counterintelligence Division Center in Belgrade, Goran Zivkovic became the deputy chief of the Security Information Agency (BIA)."[1]

I could continue with the list of examples that show that by shifting personnel into different positions, the State Security Service of Serbia remained the same as during the rule of Slobodan Milosevic. These are only a few of the State Security Service maneuvers that enabled them to continue business as usual while claiming to make democratic reforms. The same Misa Milicevic, one of Milosevic's most loyal employees, who was arrested and interrogated for the murder of the Serbian Prime Minister, joined the new Prime Minister Zoran Zivkovic and his deputy, Nebojsa Covic in trying to convince local and foreign journalists that Serbia has carried out great democratic changes.

In a word, officials from the Milosevic regime, disguised with new titles and new functions and in the new context created by withdrawal of political, military and police forces from Kosovo, took it upon themselves to warn the most important international institutions and countries in

[1] Dejan Anastasijević, cited article, *Večni plamen*

the West of the great danger to the region and to the world from the "Albanian mafia."

The *White Books* represented only a fraction of what various Yugoslav and Serbian state institutions distributed in different languages to alert the world to this danger.

According to Nebojsa Covic, "The *White Books* published by the Belgrade authorities represent only segments from the great collection of data at the disposal of Serbian state institutions. These explain the genesis of problems in Kosovo."[1]

From that collection of data, during the period from 1998-2003, both the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Serbia distributed over 2,000 pages of materials[2] printed in books. In addition, they made available some 27,000 pages in e-books on CD format. Before analyzing some of the effects of this propaganda, I will discuss some important aspects of the content of the *White Books*.

The KLA and "the Albanian Mafia"

The idea that organized crime is a connecting bridge between the Islamic fundamentalists and the Marxist-Leninists emerged in a way that made it appear compatible with scientific disciplines on the notion "mafia." By using the results of anthropological, sociological and historical analyses of the Italian mafia, the authors of the *White Book* interpreted Kosovo's reality according to the ideas used to analyze Italian society at the time the mafia was born.

Serbian propaganda contended that just as in Sicily, where the Italian state was unable to impose its legal norms, in northern Albania and Kosovo a feudal model of social organization survived in which the family, the tribe, the clans and the ancient codes resisted the penetration of the legal norms of the state.

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[1] Cited article, Albanski terorizam i organizovani kriminal na Kosovu i Metohiji

[2] Only the English version of March, 2000 had two volumes and 1023 pages!

In the following I will present a longer extract from the *White Book,* which will enable us to see its influence in the stigmatization of the Albanians and provides us with an example of the way the Serbian Secret Service used the Italian mafia as a model upon which to base their libel of the Albanians.

According to the Serbian Secret Service, The precise territorial and clan division of the biggest part of the territory of Albanian society contributes to the tradition which has to do with the organized hierarchical structure, its isolation from the outside world and the respect of the very strict internal disciplinary regulations. The application of this discipline is enabled thanks to the "The Code of Leke Dukagjini"[1] which is effective even today.[2] He who violates this code faces consequences of treason and infringement of the agreement. The uniqueness of the model common to the internal organization of the Albanian terrorist and criminal structures is adhering to the principles of territorial division, always respecting the areas of interest and areas of influence of some families.[3]

Most criminal actions in Kosovo and Metohija occur within family clans that control certain parts of the territory. The clans are connected and have strong cooperation with similar criminal groups from other European countries, mainly from Turkey, Albania and Bulgaria, because the territories of these countries represent the main directions through which the illegal trade is carried out.[4]

Relationships within the family are characterized by a strict discipline, which is achieved through punishment in case of failure to comply to internal rules, so fear unconditionally guarantees loyalty to the clan. For this reason, the right and positive laws are considered as

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[1] One of the sources of Albanian customary law that spread to northern Albanian territories. Besides Lek Dukagjinit Code, the Albanian customary law is based on the Scanderbeg's Code, The Great Highland Code and Laberia Code.

[2] Cited book: *Albanski terorizam i organizovani kriminal na Kosovu i Metohiji*, p.9

[3] Ibid., p.8

[4] Ibid., p.23

secondary, as insignificant or non- binding. Given the fact that the clans are based on blood ties, which is also the factor that defines the number of members, the links between them are very strong, while entrance and infiltration of other persons is almost impossible. Members of other ethnic communities are accepted only as perpetrators of some secondary or minor works. In addition Albanian mafia families are organized in three, four, or more levels, which enables maintaining the organization's operational capabilities even in case of detection of any of its members or the group as a whole. Developing a sense of the collective identity of Albanians, especially those from Kosovo and Metohija, is a necessary condition to deal with organized crime. It is this element that is based on being part of a particular group that has linked Albanian organized crime with political ideals, the military and terrorism.[1]

So for example in Drenica from dominant families, such as the Geci, Kodra, Jashari and the Selimi, come most of the KLA's representatives.[2] The same applies to Metohija, where the family Haradinaj has a dominant position.[3]

In a word, according to the Serbian *White Book*, "Behind the national ideological motives for the creation of a single Albanian state, regardless if it is called Greater Albania or Greater Kosovo, there are hidden interests of some criminal structures who strive to become part of the existing political and economic processes in order to legalize their criminal affairs."[4]

To make this propaganda more convincing, the Serbian Secret Services used the Italian mafia model to explain the genesis of the Kosovo war.

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[1] Vlada Srbije: Albanski terorizam i organizovani kriminal na Kosovu i Metohiji, p.7-8
http://fr.scribd.com/doc/63883383/Vlada-Srbije-Bela-knjiga-o-albanskom-terorizmu-2003-opsti-deo
http://sorryserbia.com/wp/belaknjiga.pdf
English edition, p.7-8

[2] Ibid., p.8, note 19

[3] Ibid., p.26

[4] Ibid., p.7-8

Before the beginning of the armed conflict in former Yugoslavia, most of the European market and a part of the market in the US was supplied by smuggling narcotics through the so-called Balkan route. But, the Albanian drug dealers who were trying to gain control of Afghan heroin imports into the European market, provoked the war in the southern Balkans.[1]

To achieve this drug takeover, the Albanian mafia penetrated via new routes into western Europe, surpassing the war-ridden areas. In this way they created two new alternative routes. One was the southern route that runs From Turkey through Bulgaria, Macedonia, Kosovo and Albania to Italy and other countries of western Europe. The north route starts from Turkey and passes through Bulgaria, Romania and Hungary to the Czech Republic, Slovakia and other countries of western Europe.[2] In controlling these two routes by the Albanian mafia a special role is played by Albanian emigration. In all the aforementioned countries members of the Albanian emigration are subject to horrific tortures that the Albanian mafia members apply to their compatriots to force them to cooperate with and assist terrorism in Kosovo and Metohija, Southern Serbia and Macedonia. [3]

During the conflict in Kosovo and Metohija, the Albanian mafia made a selection of the refugees who settled in western Europe and north America. Beside the intention to create the impression that these people were expelled by the Serbian government, the Albanian mafia strategy aimed at establishing bases in host countries and the strengthening of links to future criminal activities.[4]

In addition to the narcotics trade, the Albanian mafia also put under

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[1] The trial of Milosevic, session of February 18, 2002
Uvodna reč optuženog Miloševića (Miulosevic's opening statement)
http://www.hlc-rdc.org/Transkripti/Milosevic/Transkripti/Transkripti%20sa%20sudjenja%20Slobodanu%20Milosevicu%20%282%29/Transkript%20sa%20sudjenja%20Slobodanu%20Milosevicu%20-%2018.%20februar%202002..pdf

[2] Illustrated in a map (pic. 11), p. 29

[3] Ibid., p.38

[4] Ibid., p.38

its control international prostitution, illegal arms trading, cigarettes and other excise goods, stolen vehicles, human trafficking and sale of human organs."[1]

The White book on Albanian Terrorism
and Organized Crime in Kosovo[2]

Albanian Mafia Structures According to the *White Book*

To illustrate the clan operation of Albanian society in Kosovo and the territorial division, in which certain families controlled a certain territory and the criminal territory within it, the Serbian Secret Service published the structures of these Albanian mafia families.

According to their chart, there are many "small criminal families" in Kosovo, which are under the influence and control of the Drenica, Dukagjini and Llapi Clans, the three largest and dominant criminal families in Kosovo.

In order to relate the Kosovo war to organized crime, the authors of the *White Book* claim that the clans divided Kosovo in three interest zones: Drenica, Dukagjini and Llapi. In these three zones, which corresponded with the three operational zones of KLA military structures from the Kosovo war, the criminal activities were led and controlled by former KLA leaders, who after the war were transformed into political leaders.

The authors suggested that to explore who controls a certain criminal activity in a certain province should search for who was the commander

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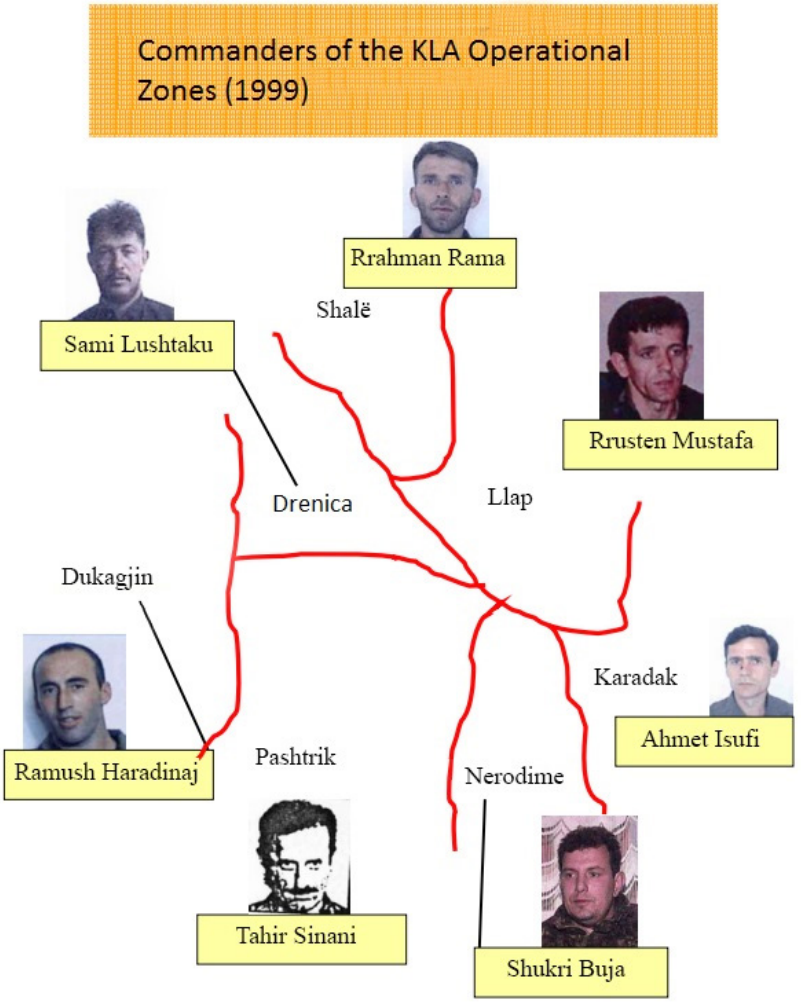
[1] Vlada Srbije: Albanski terorizam i organizovani kriminal na Kosovu i Meto-hiji, p. 23
http://fr.scribd.com/doc/63883383/Vlada-Srbije-Bela-knjiga-o-albanskom-terorizmu-2003-opsti-deo
http://sorryserbia.com/wp/belaknjiga.pdf
English edition in PDF p.15

[2] The Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Бела књига: Тероризам Албанских сепаратиста на Косову и Метохији, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia, Belgrade, Sept. 1998, Terrorist acts of Albanian terrorist groups in Kosovo and Metohija : documents and evidence 1 January 1998 - 10 June 1999, III, Part One & Part Two p. 1023, Beograd, march 2000,
Dr. Radoljub Etinski, Chef Legal Adviser at the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affaires,
The government of Serbia, Albanski terorizam i organizovani kriminal na Kosovu i Metohiji, Beograd, 2003

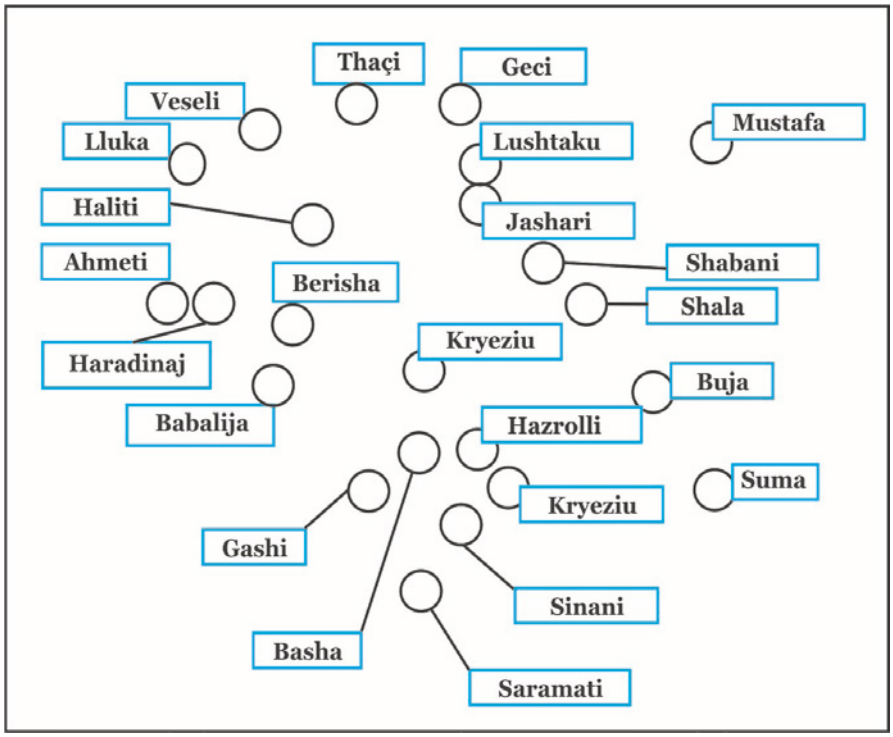
of that operational zone of the KLA during the war in Kosovo. In view of this, after page 22 in the *White Book*, the 2003 edition, there is an appendix with an organizational chart of the commanders of the KLA Operational Zones.



The White Book, Picture 1

The organizational chart of the commanders of KLA operational zones is followed by the organizational chart of criminal structures.

The order of organized criminal clans



The White Book, Picture 2

Throughout the *White Book*, but in particular concentrated in 150 pages of it,[1] the Serbian secret service tried to provide explanations and facts about crimes that have been committed in Kosovo and in this way assist those who were supposed to fight organized crime in Kosovo, and above all, to help KFOR, UNMIK and The Hague Tribunal.[2]

The only facts presented by the compilers of the *White Book* are

[1] From page 46 to page 189

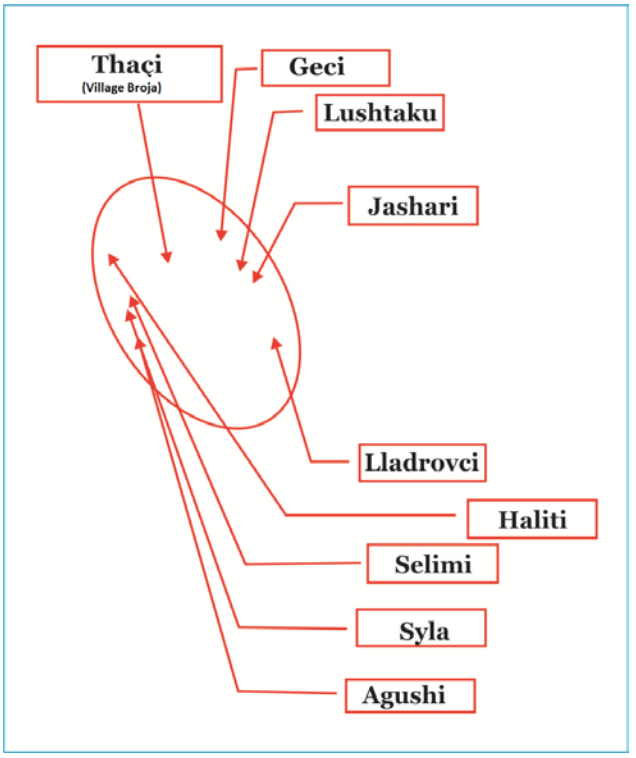
[2] Cited article, *Albanski terorizam i organizovani kriminal na Kosovu i Metohiji* http://www.srpskadijaspora.info/vest.asp?id=4093

claims by the Serbian Secret Services about illicit trades committed by the organized criminal clans listed in the picture two.

There is not room in this book to discuss the case of every person who was listed on this chart as the alleged "bearers" of organized crime families in Kosovo. I will only focus on those of the "Drenica Clan" because it was the one that was attacked the most after the independence of Kosovo.

In order to make it more convincing that a mafia structure existed in Drenica, the Serbian secret service presented the organizational chart in a form featuring the head of the organization, Hashim Thaci, and the eight "branches" of the body.

The "Criminal Clan" of Drenica Valley



White Book, Picture 7

The constraint to the head and the eight branches of "Drenica Clan" is done intentionally to allude to the "octopus," a traditional and pervasive symbol of the Sicilian mafia. Moreover, in order not to spoil the octopus image and ruin the comparison, there are some individuals missing who are named in the *White Book* as key people of this clan.[1]

The Drenica Clan, which in some cases is also called the "Drenica Gang," is a core part of the argument of the Serbian secret service. However, in addition to stigmatizing the "Drenica Gang," as a group, the *White Book* castigated each "bearer"[2] of this gang individually.

The individual defamation in the *White Book* began with Hashim Thaci, who was considered as the head, the organizer, or the boss of the criminal organization the "Drenica Gang,"[3] and continued to Xhavit Haliti, who was considered to be one of the central figures of organized crime in Kosovo and in the Drenica Gang.[4] The libels extended to Azem Syla,[5] Kadri Veseli,[6] Fatmir Limaj[7] and other KLA figures, all of whom were stigmatized by the Serbian secret services as members of a criminal terrorist organization.

This "gang" was accused of criminal activities committed before, during and after the end of Kosovo war. In regard the period before and during the Kosovo war, "The Drenica Gang" was charged with killing, kidnappings, arrests, and mistreatment of civilians of other ethnic communities living in Kosovo, focusing on Serbs and Albanians who were considered loyal to Serbia. In addition to these crimes, the "gang" was also charged with smuggling weapons, narcotics

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1 For example, this chart lacks the name of Kadri Veselit, Chief of the Kosovo Intelligence and Fatmir Limaj, one of the leaders of the Kosovo Liberation War, whom the Serbian Secret Service charged with a number of "criminal acts".

2 See specifically pages: 48-49, 66-67, 74-76, 94-98, 113-115, 120-121, 144-149, 155-156, 162-163 Albanski terorizam i organizovani kriminal na Kosovu i Metohiji http://www.srpskadijaspora.info/vest.asp?id=4093

3 Cited article, *Albanski terorizam i organizovani kriminal na Kosovu i Metohiji*, p.156 http://www.srpskadijaspora.info/vest.asp?id=4093

4 Ibid., p.163

5 Ibid., p.48-49

6 Ibid., p. 66-67

7 Ibid., p.114-115

trafficking, prostitution, trafficking in human beings and the sale of human organs.[1]

After the war ended, the Serbian secret service added to the list of criminal activities, which now included control over the trade of petroleum, petroleum products, cigarettes, and other excise goods, which was facilitated by the penetration of the "Drenica Group" into structures of the central and local government.[2]

Producers of reports from Western intelligence agencies cribbed from Serbian Secret Service material to compile their own documents as if this Serbian propaganda were the result of their own discoveries. All the names of the criminals, criminal families, their structures, the relations between them and the relations with the political power are copied from the *White Books*.

I do not know whether we can call this activity by Western intelligence services plagiarism. However, this material was indeed selected from the *White Book* and published by the intelligence services of the KFOR and NATO. A report by the German Secret Service and a number of other reports of this nature were produced in the same way by various intelligence agencies of Western countries. After a comparative analysis of the content of these reports it becomes clear that they were compiled directly from Serbian information sources. Furthermore, these agents did not even need translators because the *White Books* and the CD's containing 27,000 pages of materials for the crimes of Kosovo Albanians were published and disseminated for free in several world languages.

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[1] Ibid., see among other, pages 23-25.
English version of the *White Book,* see p.15-17
Albanian terrorism and organized crime in Kosovo and Metohija
BIA (Security Information Agency), Belgrade, September 2003
http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:vQzR9voTrH8J:www.kosovo.net/albterrorism.html+&cd=1&hl=fr&ct=clnk&gl=ch

[2] Ibid.

Sponsoring the "Albanian Mafia"

By describing Albanian society as operating according to the feudal system,[1] the authors of the *White Books* tried to come up with a model for interpreting what was happening in Kosovo. In order for this model to be also accepted as trustworthy in certain international circles, the strategic headquarters of Milosevic and his successors took care that translations of the *White Books* were disseminated as widely as possible. In particular, the gratis distribution of English and French translations was primarily to journalists, philosophers, sociologists, political scientist, politicians, analysts and historians who were known for their anti-Americanism and thus more likely to believe the contents and share them with others. It is undeniable that in the case of the Kosovo war, *sponsoring*[2] as a form of marketing where advertising is achieved at a very small cost is the most efficient way of disseminating Serbian propaganda. The NATO intervention against Serbia formed the context for intellectuals of different fields, but united in their anti-NATO viewpoints, to engage in the process of sponsoring and promote the "products" fabricated by the Serbian secret services.

Unlike large corporations such as *Nike, Adidas, Boss,* and *Coca Cola,* who openly support certain products, in politics it often occurs that the production company behind a political product does not reveal itself to the public.[3] In cases of the denigration of one side in a certain conflict, the concealment of the "producers" is done so that their product appears to be without ties to its parent company, and thus can be seen as unbiased.

Initially, writers in the West who passed along Serbian propaganda

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[1] "Family" "Clan", "Tribe" and "Code"

[2] Sponsoring (from godfather) as an old tradition used to expand the friendship or a well-known religious practice. Whereas, sponsoring (parrainage from French) known as a marketing notion meaning covering the expenses of renowned sportists, clubs, people of influence, advertizing products of certain companies, etc.

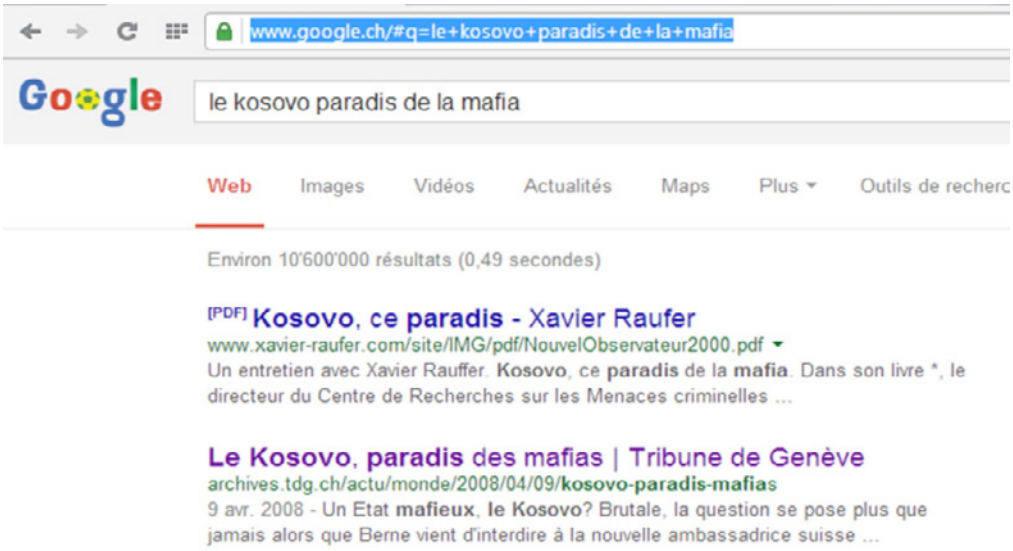
[3] In the US, lobbying groups for products (pharmaceuticals, tobacco) or causes (gun rights, prayer in schools) give money to politicians, obligating them to support the groups whenever they can. It is not strictly fee for service, but an exchange of favors and is not advertised to the public.

did not make a lot of effort to hide their relationships with the Belgrade regime. Regis Debray openly acknowledged that to avoid the possibility of being manipulated by Albanian interpreters who favored the KLA in Macedonia and Albania, he asked the Serbian government to provide him interpreters, a vehicle, and clearance to move around freely. Astonishingly, Debray claimed that the decision to rely on the Serbian government for all aspects of this "fact-finding" mission[1] kept him from being biased. Milosevic's supporters cast suspicions on the testimony of Albanians who were fleeing Kosovo, especially since Debray claimed that local interpreters favored the KLA. Among those who jumped on this particular bandwagon were Christophe Châtelot, Renaud Girard, Bo Adami, Jürgen Elsässer, Serge Halimi, Dominique Vidal, Jean-Arnauld Derens, Pierre Péan, Xavier Raufer, and others. The spreading lack of trust towards local interpreters worked to justify engaging interpreters from other countries, notably Serbia, that did not favor KLA. This became a convenient way to hide the fact that their arguments were based on the fabrications of the Serbian Secret Service. As noted above, after the 78-day war of the NATO against the Milosevic regime, the political, military and police structures of the regime were forced to withdraw from Kosovo. These new circumstances created the context of not a liberated, but an "occupied" Kosovo. This new characterization of Kosovo aimed at forestalling reports by those who wanted to understand the truth about what happened there.

In this context, the anti-KLA interpreters and the Serbian *White Books* translated into foreign languages had a big impact, in particular on those who wanted to discredit NATO. The impact of the *White Books* was unquestioned. A search of the Internet reveals the size of this impact. If, for example, in Google search engine we search "Albanian Mafia," millions of titles are displayed within seconds. In a short time, in the

[1] *Le monde*, cited letter of Régis Debray, *Lettre d'un voyageur au président de la République*

French language alone there were ten million and six hundred thousand results displayed in which Kosovo is presented as “A mafia paradise!”



These results mostly have to do with articles, reports of intelligence services from countries that had sent their military forces to KFOR and books by various authors based exclusively on the information from the *White Books* of the Serbian secret service. A comparative analysis of these texts shows clearly that the “copy and paste” technique and the paraphrasing of Serbian propaganda were the main methods for these writings where Serbian product called “the Albanian mafia” was advertised as an incontestable truth.

Some authors were most vociferous in their arguments concerning NATO relying on local criminals from the KLA in order to organize the turmoil in Kosovo and to provoke the disproportional use of violence by Belgrade.[1] According to this viewpoint, provocation by the KLA unleashed a hailstorm of violence by Serbian forces, which was in turn

[1] Jürgen Roth, MAFIA, Le gouvernement kosovar et le crime organisé (Mafia, Kosovo Government and the Organized Crime, published article at: *Weltwoche* n°43 (2005). French version *Horizons et débats*. http://www.voltairenet.org/article156405.html

used by NATO as an excuse to attack Serbia. According to these writers, this series of events was a gateway for the creation of Kosovo as "The first 100% mafia state in Europe."[1]

From the different authors who were engaged in the dissemination of stories created by the Serbian secret service, the case of Swiss historian, Oliver Jens Schmitt stands out.[2] This historian, in his book entitled *Kosovo – A Short History of a Central Balkan Country,*[3] warned others to be vigilant when dealing with topics related to organized crime, because the Serbian government and the Russians had plans to point the finger at Kosovo Albanians as drug dealers and criminals. This strategy was also used against prominent Albanian politicians in Kosovo, who were the focus of attempts by Serbia to execute arrest warrants through Interpol.[4]

Despite of his plea for caution, instead of being vigilant himself, Oliver Jens Schmitt borrowed terminology from Serbian and Russian propaganda to criminalize Albanians and make accusations that Albanians controlled certain criminal enterprises in the Balkans, such as drug trafficking, illegal migration and human trafficking.[5]

Oliver Jens Schmitt went further with his accusations by reiterating the Belgrade propaganda that "The KLA was partially financed from the organized crime money of Kosovo Albanians"[6] and presented these claims as facts drawn from the research of neutral observers who had compiled *The Europol Report.*[7]

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[1] Jürgen Roth *Kosovo, premier Etat 100% mafieux en Europe- Le gouvernement kosovar et le crime organisé*
https://fr.groups.yahoo.com/neo/groups/projets_algerie/conversations/topics/9645

[2] Critics on many aspects covered by this historian may be found in book: Jakup Krasniqi, "Një histori e kontestuar", Publishing House "Buzuku", Prishtina, 2013, p.224 and Ibrahim Kelmendi, "Trileri i O.J. Schmitt për Kosovën", Publishing House "Buzuku", Prishtina, 2013, p.368

[3] Oliver Jens Schmitt, *Kosova- Histori e shkurtër e një treve qendrore ballkanike*, Albanian Edition, KOHA, 2012, Prishtina, p. 309

[4] Ibid., p. 227

[5] Ibid., p.228

[6] Ibid., p.257

[7] Ibid., p.257

The Europol Report,[1] which according to Schmitt was a neutral observers' report, is neither Europol's report nor is it neutral. This report, similar to that of the American KFOR and that of the German Secret Service mentioned above, is nothing more than a paraphrase of the 2003 edition of the *White Book* of the Serbian Secret Service. Had Oliver Jens Schmitt paid attention to his own doubts about the information obtained from Serbian and Russian sources implicating the KLA in crimes and the financing of the war from organized crime money, then he would have compared the *White Book* with *The Europol Report* before spreading Serbian and Russian propaganda that criminalized Albanians.

Not only did he fail to treat Serbian charges against the Albanians and the KLA from the Europol report with caution, this historian also spread the calumny more widely under the auspices of Europol. Under the name of Europol the story could be sold more easily to those who were not aware of the facts. And, when it comes to "vigilance," Oliver Jens Schmitt, mouthing the fabrications of the Serbian regime, warned in the report packaged under Europol insignia, of the necessity to increase vigilance, because Albanian organized crime is considered an increasing threat to member countries of the European Union.[2]

Long before Oliver Jens Schmitt, the Director of the Center for Criminal Threat Research in Paris, Xavier Raufer, known to the reader from previous chapters, and the French criminologist Stéphane Quéré published the book entitled *Albanian Mafia, a Risk to Europe.*[3]

Aware of the potential backlash to the scandalous content of this book, in its foreword the authors attempt to convince the readers that there is nothing racist and anti-Albanian in their book and that discussing the Albanian mafia does not imply that the book is part of Milosevic's game.

When one reads claims like these it is reasonable to ask what makes these authors so fearful that they may be perceived as anti-Albanian

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[1] Published in December, 2004

[2] Oliver Jens Schmitt, cited book, *Kosovo- Short history* ..., p. 228-229

[3] Xavier Raufer and Stéphane Quéré, cited book *La mafia albanaise*..., p.141

racists. In this case, the reasons of this fear are quickly clarified and quite evident within the content of the book. Not only do they reiterate what is written against Albanians and the KLA in the *White Books*, but the defamation of the Albanians by the Serbian secret service is elevated to a higher level by Xavier Raufer and Stéphane Quéré.

In order to fulfill the necessary criteria to qualify the crimes of the Albanian groups as "mafia" in the full sense of the word, the Serbian secret service insisted that, "Albanian society is a clan society and the form of the organization of criminal groups is based on the principals of a steel discipline."[1]

In order to reinforce this position of Serbian propaganda the above mentioned authors claim that

In Albania, especially in the mountainous north of the country, which was isolated during the entire 20th century, it can be claimed that the culture remained almost *chemically clean* in the way of a traditional clan society that respects the centuries old tradition of honor and retaliation. Compared to most other mafia groups, to which these rules and laws are implicit or transmitted orally, in Albania this code of honor "Kanuni"[2] is written in a brochure and is sold in newspaper shops.[3]

Most of the prominent authors of the anti-Americanism and anti NATO persuasion cited throughout this book promote the fabricated products of the Serbian secret service, while hiding their sources. But, to exaggerate to the level of Xavier Raufer and Stéphane Quéré, where they claim that in Northern Albania almost a *chemically clean* clan society has survived, is nothing more than a chemical discovery that smells of racism!

Although much research has proven that the structure of the family, i.e. of clans as some try to call them, has evolved in Kosovo just as it has in other Balkan societies, these authors need arguments to stigmatize the KLA as a mafia organization and denounce NATO as a

[1] Government of Serbia, Albanski terorizam i organizovani kriminal na Kosovu i Metohiji, p.3 Beograd, 2003

[2] The authors use the Albanian word "Kanun"!

[3] Xavier Raufer and Stéphane Quéré, cited book, La mafia albanaise... p.34

protector of the "Albanian Mafia," so they insist that Albanian society functions as a clan.

To francophone readers who wish to know more about the social structures and the political demands of the Albanians, especially for the period during the creation of national states in the Balkans, I would suggest reading the book by Nathalie Clayer *The Origins of Albanian Nationalism*.[1] This author emphasizes that prior to the 20th century, the entire society of the western end of the Balkan peninsula valued belonging to a family or a tribe as a powerful sign of identification. However, since the 19th century Kosovo has not been a zone divided into clans, and it is incorrect to describe it as such.[2]

Despite extensive research that revealed that the clan function of Albanian society ended in the 18th century, Raufer and Quéré could only see it through their intransigent ideological filters. To promote that ideology, they sold this story thrown on the market by the Serbian Secret Service as if it were the reality of Albanian society.

Along with the revelation of the existence of the "chemically clean" Albanian clan society, Xavier Raufer and Stéphane Quéré took fragments of articles from different world newspapers that confirmed the claims of the Serbian Secret Service that the Kosovo Liberation Army was a narcotic-guerrilla group that was financed through the Balkan route, and dealt with drug trafficking, illegal immigration, trafficking in arms and stolen vehicles, cigarettes and alcohol, oil smuggling, high level robberies, kidnapping and ransom, contract killings, forgery of official documents, money laundering, and whatever other crimes they could imagine.[3]

Even within this mosaic of criminal activities attributed to the KLA, Xavier Raufer and Stéphane Quéré differ from all other forms of sponsors of the notion "Albanian Mafia." These authors, who claim they are not

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[1] Nathalie Clayer, Aux origines du nationalisme albanais, Paris, 2007

[2] Ibid., .27

[3] The book of Xavier Raufer and Stéphane Quéré *La mafia albanaise* ... is full of similiar sayings. See p. 31, and p.91 the afore mentioned quotes.

characterized by “anti-Albanian racism,” insult the Albanians as no one else. In their pamphlet, they come to the conclusion that, “Trafficking in human beings is a criminal specialty of the Albanians. In the camps of Albania, the police are implicated in the kidnapping of young girls or buying them from their parents and send them to prostitution training centers. After proper training, these young girls are sold to others and are sent to work in London, Hamburg, Paris, etc.”[1]

I should make a small digression to explain that when discussing the “camps in Albania” these authors refer to the centers where some 443,300 Albanians expelled from Kosovo were sheltered. The poorest country in Europe carried the burden of most of the consequences from the Serbian ethnic cleansing policy in Kosovo. To implicate the Albanian police in kidnapping young girls or buying them from their parents and send them to prostitution training centers demonstrates the most callous disdain for the Albanian people. This contemptuous attitude toward the Albanians explains the fear expressed by the authors express in their book's preface mention that they may be seen as “anti-Albanian racists.” Readers can judge for themselves the extent anti-Albanian racism of these authors. For my part, I cannot imagine that there could be anything worse they could say about Albanians as a people than that they sold their children into prostitution. To attribute to Albanian parents, victims of the Serbian genocidal policy in Kosovo, the selling of their children to people who would send them into “prostitution training centers” so they would be prepared to work as prostitutes in London, Hamburg, Paris, and other European capitals is beyond racism. To make such accusations solely to serve their anti-American, anti-NATO political strategy is a prostitution of the soul. Even so, Xavier Raufer is not satisfied. In an interview for the newspaper *Le Nouvel Observateur* dated February 16, 2000 he even tries explain the reasons why Albanians are involved in prostitution.

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[1] Ibid., p.57

"How to earn one franc from zero francs?" asks Xavier Raufer. He answers, "There is no other way except by trafficking women! It is enough to snatch a cousin. Today ten girls who work in the Marécheaux[1] section of Paris can, in a few months, earn for their pimp around 5 million francs. This money can then be invested by them into heroin and ecstasy."[2]

If Xavier Raufer had expressed his fear that the Albanian mafia might offer money to buy his female family members in order to train them for prostitution and employ them in London, Hamburg or the Paris boulevards, I would have felt sorry for him and considered him a victim of Serbian propaganda. If Xavier Raufer had expressed fear that the Albanian mafia might ask him to kidnap his female cousins and employ them in Marécheaux, in order to split the millions of francs in earnings, I would have told him not to worry because the Albanian mafia does not exist, it is just a notion fabricated by the Serbian Secret Service to stigmatize Albanians.

But Xavier Raufer does not actually believe in this bogeyman made up by the Serbians. Rather, he is engaged in being a *sponsor* (in French, patronage) of notions from *The White Book* that present Albanians as terrorists, criminals, smugglers, and members of a mafia in order to serve his own political ends.

This is the same Xavier Raufer who, about the civilians killed at the "Recak Massacre" claimed that they might have been KLA guerrillas killed while fighting throughout Kosovo, then collected and placed one over the other for the purpose of staging a show.[3]

Xavier Raufer and Stéphane Quéré told their readers that Albanians stage shows with dead bodies, sell their children into prostitution, and kidnap their cousins only to "make one franc out of zero francs." Considering that there is scarcely anything worse they could say, it is

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[1] Boulevards of Marécheaux make a group of boulevards of 33.7 km

[2] Nouvel Observateur , *Kosovo, ce paradis de la mafia, Un entretien avec Xavier Raufer*, (Kosovo, a mafia paradise, Interview with Xavier Raufer), February 16, 2000

[3] Le nouvel Economiste, Xavier Raufer, Balkans, Boucherie et bidonnages, February 15, 2011, http://www.lenouveleconomiste.fr/balkans-boucherie-et-bidonnages-9201/

remarkable that Xavier Raufer and Stéphane Quéré claim that there is nothing racist and anti-Albanian in their writings. If what Raufer and Quéré have written is not racist, what is?

Regarding the fear expressed by these authors in their introduction that they might be seen as part of Milosevic's game, I need only present one example: their position is identical to the position of the Belgrade's regime propaganda related to the expulsion of Albanians from Kosovo.

The ethnic cleansing in Kosovo was discussed extensively in chapter five and six of this book. Serbian propaganda claimed that the expulsion of Albanians from Kosovo was not a political project of the Serbian government, but a plan fabricated by other secret services in order to blame Serbians for this premeditated crime. Xavier Raufer and Stéphane Quéré extended this story by adding another new aspect to it: the notion of the Albanian mafia's goal of world domination.

According to these authors,

> *In view of this strategy, the Albanian mafia carefully selected the refugees who travelled towards western countries and coincidentally,*[1] *the majority of the so-called refugees chose to remain in these host countries. The size of massive displacements of Albanians and their organized placement by the Albanian mafia, in which circumstances certain Albanian families, inhabitants of a certain village or members of a certain clan were deployed to particular cities of Italy, Switzerland, France, Spain, Austria, Germany, Belgium, Scandinavian countries, Great Britain, the Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary etc., was done with the purpose of gaining full control over the crimes throughout the world."*[2]

Xavier Raufer and Stéphane Quéré reiterated the Milosevic regime's version of what had happened in Kosovo, defamed of Albanians in the lowest possible ways, and stigmatized Albanians through notions from

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[1] Authors using irony

[2] Ibid., p.60-89 the reader may be informed widely about this interpretation of deportation of Albanians from Kosovo.

the Belgrade regime, but to these authors persist in claiming that they are not a part of Milosevic's game.

The maximum engagement of Xavier Raufer and Stéphane Quéré as sponsors of the notion of the "Albanian mafia" continues in their attacks on other authors who refuse to advertise this product of the Serbian Secret Service. Authors from opposing perspectives are hiding the truth, according to these two. They express dismay that neither NATO nor the UN nor the EU mentions the Albanian mafia in any of their reports. Xavier Raufer and Stéphane Quéré protest vociferously, asking how it is possible that in the 22 pages of the *Report of the European Union* the expression *Albanian mafia* never once appears.[1]

Xavier Raufer and Stéphane Quéré's dismissal of their opponents is not limited to Europeans. They were particularly negative toward American officials, who they said had assisted the KLA since 1998, especially through their cover as humanitarian employees of OSCE, an organization led by William Walker at the time.[2] According to these authors, "In the Spring of 1999, senator Charles Grassley (R. of Iowa) asked Bill Clinton for an assessment of the KLA's narcotics trafficking. The CIA and the State Department[3] answered that neither of these two institutions possessed any information to prove the KLA's involvement in any kind of criminal activity or having a direct connection to any criminal organization."[4] This response was not satisfactory to these authors. Rather than taking it at face value, they interpreted it as the American government attempting to conceal the help they had given to the Albanian mafia, which would have violated the US Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, which strictly forbids giving assistance to any entity that is connected to drug smugglers.[5]

Xavier Raufer's disgust at the fact that others writers and reports don't use the expression "Albanian Mafia," or that they deny the KLA's

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[1] Ibid., p.104-105. The text written in italic by the authors.
[2] Ibid., p.103
[3] US State Departement
[4] Xavier Raufer and Stéphane Quéré, cited book, *La mafia albanaise.p.*103-104
[5] Ibid., p.103

implication in criminal activities is a farce all on its own. Xavier Raufer is the pseudonym of French essayist Christian de Bongain, who for reasons known only to him, has chosen to hide behind this pseudonym. This author, when he was writing using his real identity of Christian de Bongain, had totally different viewpoints until the US involvement in the war of Kosovo and the NATO intervention against Serbia. In his research[1] for the Center for Research on Contemporary Criminal Threats, he insisted that there are only two criminal superpowers: the Cosa Nostra in Sicily and the Triada in the Chinese world. These entities that appear as groups of gangsters in underdeveloped societies are states within states that possess a certain territory, a subjected population, their laws, their military forces etc.[2]

After the US involvement in the war of Kosovo, the author, then hiding behind the pseudonym Xavier Raufer, appears to have forgotten his earlier conclusions. Perhaps, by using a different identity, Raufer thought he would be able to hide the fact that in his earlier research as de Bongain, he had never mentioned Albanian organized crime or the Albanian mafia. When I read about the "disgust" expressed by Xavier Raufer towards those who deliver reports without mentioning the Albanian mafia, I suspect that Raufer was disgusted with himself. As de Bongain, he had not mentioned the Albanian mafia, so rather than taking responsibility and recanting or apologizing, he changed his identity and decided to hide behind his new name, Xavier Raufer.

In this incarnation, the writer tries to make amends. In addition to mentioning and discussing the Albanian Mafia in his book, he also sponsors this product of the Serbian propaganda machine as an uncontestable reality even in the title of his book.[3]

From his earlier citation at the time when he wrote as Christian de Bongain in *Criminal Superpowers,* Xavier Raufer only removed "Cosa

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[1] Xavier Raufer, Les Mafias, puissances singulières, Centre de recherche des Menaces Criminelles Contemporaines - © MCC 1993
http://www.drmcc.org/IMG/pdf/41b3ad18ab2bb.pdf

[2] Ibid.

[3] Xavier Raufer and Stéphane Quéré, cited book, *La mafia albanaise…*

Nostra" and "Chinese Triada" and instead incorporated the Serbian fabrication, "Albanian mafia." In the same way as the authors of the Serbian propaganda in *The White Books*, Xavier Raufer and Stéphane Quéré disseminated their "discoveries" that the Albanian mafia was born in Albanian primitive society, where the clans had survived in a "chemically clean" form based on old traditions of retaliation and code of honor called "Kanun"[1] and where the local population is a subject to laws of the territory of the mafia. After the withdrawal of Serbian forces, the Albanian mafia was settled in the territory of Kosovo, linked to the local political power, and became a criminal superpower and a danger to Europe.[2]

The danger from the Albanian mafia and KLA terrorism was made public by the Serbian secret service via *The White Books,* published and republished several times during 1998-2003. Unlike the Serbian propaganda which trumpeted that Albanian terrorism was linked to various forms of organized crime and posed a continuous threat to the security of their citizens and to the political stability of Serbia and other countries in the region, Xavier Raufer and Stéphane Quéré emphasized the danger to the European continent, particularly because of the connections of the Albanian mafia with political interests and its mobilization in regard to political demands.

Xavier Raufer and Stéphane Quéré practiced fearmongering, attempting to frighten their readers about the "infiltration of the Albanian mafia" into the structures of the government and the public statements of former KLA leaders in favor of Kosovo being an independent state. To be convincing about the danger to Europe, these authors used different information to prove that the independent state of Bosnia, created inside the American military base at Dayton, "Is the anti-model of a state which

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[1] In their strategy of manipulation by people who are not informed, the authors give significant focus to the Leke Dukagjini Code stripping it off the historical context and presenting it as current and applicable within the Albanian "primitive society". Instead of the word "primitive" the authors use the Greek word "archaic".

[2] These ideas dominate from the title of the book to the end of it.

is nothing more than a patchwork[1] of ethnically pure and criminalized cantons that live exclusively on foreign aid and the criminal industry."[2] Therefore, they warn, to avoid the worst nightmare of transforming Kosovo into a second Bosnia (the Bosnia of their fevered imaginations), Xavier Raufer and Stéphane Quéré implore the senior Western leaders on whom the fate of Kosovo depends, to define a realistically applicable and a clear regional policy; to raise the alarm to their local representatives on the forthcoming struggle; and to define and pursue the main enemy -- the Albanian mafia.[3]

The warning of these two authors at the dangers from the creation of the new Kosovo state comes from the sponsors of notions fabricated in the laboratories of the Serbian secret service. Xavier Raufer and Stéphane Quéré are not alone.

Céline Bardet worked as an advisor on legal issues in the Ministry of Interior Affairs of Kosovo for 20 months starting in August 2006.[4] Just like Carla Del Ponte, this legal advisor also published a memoir of the fight she had had "against war criminals." From her memoirs published under the title *A Woman Against War Criminals*[5] *a few examples are sufficient to reveal the position from which this legal expert offered her advice.*

For the start of the war in Kosovo she singled out "KLA terrorists," who she claimed provoked a terrorist campaign aimed at Serbian leaders and representatives. Consequently, in 1998 the country was on fire and mayhem. The violence of the KLA against the Serbian, Roma, and Albanian civilians who were considered to be dissidents increased.[6] This dark picture continued even after the end of the war. After the withdrawal of Serbian troops from Kosovo and the deployment of KFOR

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1 Patchwork is a technique of sewing the pieces of fabric different sizes, forms and colors.
2 Xavier Raufer and Stéphane Quéré, cited book, *La mafia albanaise*...,p.109
3 Ibid., p.109
4 At the time this ministry was led by Fatmir Rexhepi (until March, 2007) and Blerim Kuci, his replacement until January, 2008.
5 Céline Bardet *Une femme contre les criminels de guerre* Edition du Toucan, Paris, mars 2011, p.247
6 Ibid., p.106-107

and UNMIK, the country was left in the hands of people who operated underground and were known to have been implicated in mafia activities and who had had taken part in many acts of violence during the war.[1]

After this pessimistic description of Kosovo, which, according to the author has eternally lacked splendor,[2] Céline Bardet came to the conclusion that, "Kosovo is a country of mafia gangrene, in which occurs the most abhorrent imaginable trafficking and which is based under the tyranny of a very old code of honor called 'Kanuni,' which is considered superior to the laws and where the *omerta*[3] and *vendetta* are the key words."[4] To further influence public opinion and to blame the Albanians in general, this member of the international staff who had come to "assist" the Ministry of Interior Affairs, stated that, "Kosovo is a very small community, very specific, where everyone knows one another. It is a clan society. Things are known inside the clan, but only a little information goes outside the clan, because in this country, the law of silence is raised to the level of moral values."[5]

Bardet's remarks may be plausible to the more naive reader, but they lack credibility to anyone who is acquainted with the facts. It is unrealistic in the extreme to claim that the two million Albanians of Kosovo are a clan where everybody knows one another, where everybody is aware of the crimes and where no one speaks out.

If Kosovo is a country of "mafia gangrene," in which the most abhorrent imaginable trafficking occurs; a country that arouses curiosity and is grim at the same time; a country where there is trade in arms, drugs, women, and even human organs; where there is terrorism; a country where there is an abundance of everything that is bad,[6] then the collective responsibility of the Albanians of Kosovo

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1 Ibid., p.108
2 Ibid., p.111
3 Book author uses expressions of the Sicilian Mafia "omerta" and "vendetta" which mean the law enforcing silence and revenge..
4 Ibid., p.110
5 Ibid., p.115
6 Ibid., p. 117-118

is inevitable. Can one imagine the creation of an independent state of Kosovo, which according to Serbian propaganda and to their tame writers who spread misinformation about the KLA, "Is not a society affected by the organized crime, but a society which is based on organized crime?" To Céline Bardet, the legal advisor to the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Kosovo, "The Albanians needed to prove that they are a nation and not a gang of robbers, as defined by those who resisted their independence."[1] So, what was her opinion of the Albanians? Does she consider them a "nation" or she agrees with the Serbian labeling of Albanians as "a gang of robbers?" Whenever she had the opportunity, Céline Bardet stigmatized the Albanians in general and the KLA in particular, saying that "Supposedly on the forefront of the Kosovo war was a brutal horde that did not shrink from any violence, that attacked without any distinction the Serbian minority and the Albanians suspected as collaborators of the enemy. These same people were considered heroes of this vile war."[2]

I brought up the case of Céline Bardet because she is neither the only international lawyer, nor the only advisor who had come to help postwar Kosovo and who simultaneously identified with Milosevic's propaganda about the events and the people of Kosovo.

Since the withdrawal of the police, military and political troops of the Serbian regime from Kosovo, writers like Bardet who reiterated the claims of *The White Book* never stopped raising the alarm at the danger from the "Albanian Mafia." Rather, these warnings were intensified, especially during the process of negotiations when the final political status of Kosovo was put on the agenda, and continued after the declaration of independence. These dire prognostications did not cease during the period pending the decision of the International Court of Justice on the legality of the act of independence, and continue even now.

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[1] Ibid., p. 136
[2] Ibid., p.134

Carla Del Ponte and "Trafficking in human organs in Kosovo"

In the previous chapter I mentioned the fact that the publication of the Carla Del Ponte's memoir ignited strong responses in the media. One interesting fact about this response was that media attention focused mostly on her allegations of human organ trafficking by the leaders of the KLA and did not generally discuss her conclusions on these allegations. In the same chapter I discussed the historical context of the publication of this book and the reactions to it. From the many responses I singled out that of the former spokesperson of the General Prosecutor, Florence Hartmann. Observing that the accusations in Del Ponte's book violated of the professionalism that should characterize a prosecutor, Florence Hartmann described Carla Del Ponte's action as irresponsible because the work of Carla Del Ponte consists in seeking the truth, while she has sunk to the lowest level propaganda.[1]

Along with the position of Florence Hartmann, the chapter covered the mobilization of Serbian and Russian circles in the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe and about the submission of the draft resolution calling for an investigation of Carla Del Ponte's allegations. In this context I mentioned the fact that another outcome of these allegations of human organ trafficking was the initiative of the Swiss and Swedish parliamentary delegations to open a debate in the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe regarding the consequences of the declaration of independence of Kosovo.

I will focus now on a few aspects of this book that have not been discussed: the sources on which Carla Del Ponte based her accusations of human organ trafficking.

The publication of the memoirs of Carla Del Ponte was not met with unbridled enthusiasm by one of the protagonists of her book, former Deputy Prime Minister Nebojsa Covic. Rather Covic, who at the same

[1] Le Temps, Florence Hartmann, cited article, *Carla Del Ponte et les rumeurs de trafik d'organes au Kosovo*

time was the head of the Coordination Center for Southern Serbia and Kosovo and Metohija in the Serbian Government, expressed great contempt for the "late" publication of the book and was disgusted that Carla Del Ponte had not published her memoir at the time planned by the Belgrade authorities.

According to Nebojsa Covic, "Carla Del Ponte tried to clear her biography due to her troubled conscience."[1] In his statement he accused the former General Prosecutor of The Hague of ignoring crimes against the Serbs: "Why hadn't she opened investigations about the camps that were set up in Albania, about where the Serbs were transferred and why did she have to act that way? She had known about their existence and about all the atrocities towards the Serbs."[2]

Covic reminded the Serbian public that Carla Del Ponte had received the information she needed, but had not undertaken anything. Furthermore, Covic casts doubts that Carla Del Ponte had not been allowed to investigate the Serbian mass graves.[3]

Nebojsa Covic's disappointment is understandable when one knows the high hopes they had for the effects of the materials compiled by the Serbian Secret Service and provided to those who they thought would publish them. The files of more than 27,000 pages[4] prepared by the Serbian Secret Service submitted to Carla Del Ponte by the Serbian Department of Jurisprudence, (operating within the Coordination Center led by Nebojsa Covic), did not have any influence at the time when they may have impacted the final status of Kosovo. This explains the response of Nebojsa Covic and many others on the "late publication" of Carla Del Ponte's book.

Even the chairman of the Parliamentary Commission of Serbia for Kosovo, Milovan Drecun, expressed his indignation at this delay. He, claimed

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[1] Glas javnosti, *Del Ponteova pred srpskim tužilaštvom* (Del Ponte in front of Serbian prosecution) http://www.glas-javnosti.rs/node/17467/print

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Miroslav Antić, cited article *Obmane Delponteove*

that "KFOR and UNMIK bypassed consciously the facts on human organ trafficking. Official Tirana was also aware on the existence of these camps in its territory."[1] Drecun specifically claimed that an American journalist of Serbian descent whom he had met in Kosovo and Metohija, said that he had made a report about these camps, and that an Albanian official had confirmed that the camps had existed in the north of the country. Milovan Drecun elaborated:

Also, my sources from the Shiptari[2] had spoken about the tire factory in Suhareka, where Serbs had been locked and tortured. I have tried to speak about this publicly, but I have been forced to keep silent by all sides. The reasons why KFOR and UNMIK kept silent on this matter lay in the fact that they did not want to show the world that the Shiptari whom they have protected so much from the Serbs were heinous criminals."[3]

The reader may recall that this is the same Milovan Drecun against whom the Independent Association of Serbian Journalists had filed charges at the War Crimes Court in Belgrade for, "Media manipulation aiming to encourage crimes, spreading inter-ethnic and inter-religious hatred, as well as for promoting discrimination and hostility for the alleged execution of Serbian civilians in the village of Klecka."[4] This is the same Milovan Drecun who, because of his lie that American journalists from the *Associated Press* said there were no civilians killed in Recak, was decorated by the commander of the Third Yugoslav Army, Nebojsa Pavkovic.[5]

Drecun was the chairman of the Parliamentary Committee of Serbia for Kosovo at the time that he declared that the American journalist of Serbian descent had informed him about the camps in Albania. Drecun, who was implicated in the commission of crimes in Kosovo, specifically,

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[1] Ibid.
[2] Milovan Drecun uses a derogatory word "šiptari" refering to Albanians
[3] Ibid.
[4] Topic discussed in the first chapter of the book.
[5] Reminding that Nebojsa Pavkovic was sentenced to 22 years in prison for crimes during the war in Kosovo

in the torture of the Mazreku brothers to force a confession that they killed Serbian civilians and had burned them in limestone kilns in the village of Klecka,[1] claims that a Serbian-American journalist and his "Shiptari" revealed the mistreatment of Serbian civilians and human organ trafficking.

Even Vladimir Bozovic, who has held various positions in the Ministry of Interior Affairs of Serbia, reiterated the allegations of Albanians crimes against Serbian civilians. During the time that he headed the Department of Jurisprudence at the Coordination Center led by Covic, he cooperated with members of the Serbian forensic medical investigators, such as Slavisa Dobricanin, Vukasin Otasevic and their associates. In addition, he had met Carla Del Ponte several times, and their conversation was oriented towards preparing and securing material evidence against the KLA.[2]

The chapter dedicated to the murder of Albanian civilians in the village of Recak discussed the Serbian forensic "experts" in detail. Based on the statements of Vladimir Bozovic, his team of investigators operated from 2001 until 2002 to prepare materials about human organs trafficking in Kosovo.[3] These collected materials were systemized on a CD containing 27,000 pages about the crimes of KLA commanders, which was submitted to the investigators in The Hague.[4]

It is important to note that Vladimir Bozovic is the only official from the Ministry of Interior Affairs of Serbia who states that he had established a cooperative relationship with UNMIK's Department of Justice and Human Rights, headed by the American Clint Williamson. According to Bozovic, Williamson was informed in detail about the activities of UNMIK's Department of Justice and Human Rights and

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[1] A case addressed in the first chapter of the book

[2] Politika, Biljana Baković, *Za trgovinu organima Beograd saznao pre devet godina* (For the organ trafficking, Belgrade was aware nine years before), 02.01.2011 http://www.politika.rs/rubrike/Hronika/Za-trgovinu-organima-Beograd-saznao-pre-devet-godina.lt.html

[3] Ibid.

[4] Miroslav Antić, cited article, *Obmane Delponteove*

said he was very satisfied with his work. "Afterward, Clint Williamson became the ambassador for war crimes, which was very important for us"[1] said Bozovic. These statements are significant given that Clint Williamson was designated to lead the investigation on the allegations of human organ trafficking. We will return to this matter in the last chapter of the book.

However, the lack of results from the arrest of KLA leaders accused by Serbian civilians of human organ trafficking disappointed the manufacturers of this story. This disappointment is evident in the statement of Vladimir Bozovic, former head of the Department of Jurisprudence at the Coordination Center for Kosovo and Metohija within the Government of Serbia.

He explained that, The complete documentation of the sub-committee for the kidnapped and missing persons, that is the documentation of the legal department of Coordination Centre for Kosovo and Metohija remained in the premises of the federal government and later was taken by Sanda Raskovic - Ivic and her people. According to my knowledge, afterward a part of the documentation was destroyed, while some remained there, and no one knows anything about what happened to it. However, I know that after this nothing was done. All the activities ceased to function.

The destruction of documents about the "abominable crimes" claimed to have been committed against Serbs in Albanian camps and the cessation of any further investigation of these crimes in Belgrade, is additional evidence that even the inventors of this lie were convinced that no one believed their "stories and legends!"[2]

Despite the initial dissatisfaction of Serbian politicians with what they considered to be the silence of Carla Del Ponte on the subject of human organ trafficking, she did undertake several steps to investigate these alleged crimes.

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[1] Ibid.
[2] Carla Del Ponte's expression

In her book, Carla Del Ponte said that she had overseen investigation into the issue since 2003. She discussed her frequent meetings with Nebojsa Covic, Deputy Prime Minister of Serbia and the members of the Serbian sub-committee for kidnapped and missing persons. She also mentioned a meeting she had during her first visit to Belgrade, on August 25, 2001 with families of the kidnapped and missing persons in Kosovo. Carla Del Ponte described this meeting as unusual because the families of these persons were gathered inside the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Ranko Djinovic, the chairman of the association that gathered these Serbian families from Kosovo, gave a brief report on the people who disappeared in Kosovo between 1998 and 2001. Djinovic said that his association had evidence of criminal activities of KLA members. He accused senior leaders of the KLA such as Hashim Thaci, the political director and commander of the militia, and Agim Ceku as the ones responsible for the kidnappings and the killing in Kosovo. He added that his association had compiled a list of names of around 200 kidnappers[1] all of whom belonged to the KLA. In the end he demanded investigations of crimes committed after the deployment of the KFOR to Kosovo in June, 1999. "I promised him I would do anything within my abilities, but I wanted him to encourage the Yugoslav government to support the request for the extension of the court mandate for these alleged crimes" said Del Ponte. [2]

To ask that the Yugoslav government be encouraged to support Del Ponte's request for the extension of the court mandate for investigating crimes invented by that same government is hypocrisy of the worst kind. However, Carla Del Ponte does not stop there. She asked that UNMIK and local authorities of Kosovo and Albania, be accompanied by the Serbian police Services investigate these alleged crimes and in specific cases to follow these investigations.[3]

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[1] The White Book of 2003 contains 156 names of Albanian terrorists!
[2] Carla Del Ponte, cited book, La traque, les criminels de guerre et moi, p. 455-456
[3] Ibid., 471

To request that UNMIK and local authorities in Kosovo and Albania be accompanied by Serbian Police Services in order to investigate the crimes they actually committed themselves and blamed on the KLA is an effrontery of the worst kind! Carla Del Ponte asked that UNMIK and local authorities in Kosovo and Albania rely on Serbian police services as a way to justify her dependence on these sources. Apart from this case, Carla Del Ponte did not mention the fact that her information on the crimes of the KLA came from the people who had compiled and disseminated the *White Book*. Her information on the trade in human organs from Serbian prisoners came from the same people who had given her the 27,000 pages and CD containing material for the crimes of the KLA commanders, and the *White Book,* in which the accusation of human organ trafficking[1] is but one of the many accusations of Serbian propaganda. Carla Del Ponte justifies the initiation of investigations because of information from what she calls credible journalist sources, who never gave the identity of the witnesses to Carla Del Ponte!

Furthermore, even the General Prosecutor who ordered the investigations writes that she has relied on sources identified by the journalists only as "Kosovo Albanians." Based on this testimony it was suspected that some of the younger and healthier prisoners were fed well, regularly checked by a physician, and later transferred to other prison centers in the city of Burrel and its surroundings. There, they were gathered in a hut behind a yellow house, in a room turned into an improvised surgical clinic where their organs were extracted. These organs were transported secretly to the Rinas airport near Tirana and were sent to clinics abroad to be transplanted into rich patients who had paid for such a service.[2]

Whether this was the same Serbian-American journalist who gave the information to Milovan Drecun or whether it was his "Shiptari" who

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[1] Vlada Srbije: Albanski terorizam i organizovani kriminal na Kosovu i Metohiji, p. 23
http://sorryserbia.com/wp/belaknjiga.pdf
Versioni anglisht, p.15

[2] Carla Del Ponte, cited book La traque, les criminels de guerre et moi, p. 457

informed Drecun of "the most abominable crimes of the KLA" we will never know, because these witnesses were not revealed to investigators of the International Criminal Court in The Hague. The source of these allegations remained a secret.

According to Milovan Drecun, the worst thing was that even in Serbia there was not a favorable environment to "expose" such things. He even presented himself as a victim in Serbia, because supposedly he had been forced to keep silent by all sides. The practice of concealing the source is also a strategy of Carla Del Ponte. In her book *The Hunt: Me and the War Criminals,* without citing her sources of information, she reiterated claims from the *White Book* of the Serbian Secret Service. She states that, "Albanian society is very connected, which makes it extremely difficult to recruit local interpreters, let alone Albanian informers or witnesses. The majority of the Albanian clans recognize nothing else but their traditional law of retaliation, for those who expose other members of the family to reprisals."[1]

Identifying with the attitude of the Serbian Secret Service, Del Ponte, in her role as the General Prosecutor of the Tribunal, ordered investigations without having witnesses or evidence of the alleged crimes. Furthermore, she ordered an investigation even though her own tribunal investigators realized that the information from journalists was relatively inaccurate and that the material collected by the investigators of the prosecutor's office did not contain any specific information about Albania.[2]

[1] Ibid., p.460
[2] Ibid., p.458

EPILOGUE TO CHAPTER ONE

These types of stories of prisoners killed by organ smugglers occur quite often in conflict zones, but rarely concrete evidences are found to prove them, and eventually end up as simple legend.[1]

Many months passed before the court and UNMIK went to central Albania to visit the yellow house, the same house in which journalists' sources claimed that the prisoners were killed for their organs.[2] Sources have not been able to show us the location of the graves of alleged victims, and we did not find bodies there. Our delegation had failed to convince anyone from the yellow house and the surrounding area to come and give us their testimonies, to give us reliable information.[3]

In this situation, lawyers and investigators in charge of matters pertaining to the KLA were forced to conclude that there were insufficient elements of evidence to continue their work. Therefore, in the lack of sources or tools to identify and find them, in the absence of corpses and other evidence linking the accused of senior ranks with these acts, all possibilities of investigation had been closed.[4]

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[1] Ibid., p.470
[2] Ibid., p.469
[3] Ibid., p.470
[4] Ibid., p.471

CHAPTER TWO

PROLOGUE TO CHAPTER TWO

The eyewitness to trafficking in the organs of abducted Serbs by the KLA

On September 7th, 2012 the assembly of Kosovo adopted the constitutional amendments that marked the end of supervised independence with votes cast of 98 pros, 10 cons and 1 abstention.[1] *On the same day, the Serbian War Crimes prosecutor in Belgrade, Vladimir Vukcevic, said to the Tanjug news agency that the prosecution was in possession of the testimony of an eyewitness to the extraction and trafficking of human organs in Kosovo.*[2]

According to the Serbian prosecutor, they had the testimony of a soldier in the Kosovo Liberation Army, who admitted to having participated in the extraction and trafficking of human organs of Serbs kidnapped during the Kosovo war in 1998 and 1999.[3]

The eyewitness gave a gruesome description of how they had extracted a heart from a Serbian detainee in a location near the city of Kukes, north of Albania and then transported the organ to Rinas airport near Tirana, to be sold on the black market.[4]

This move was similar to the "Klecka Crematorium"[5] *story when investigative judge Danica Marinkovic improvised the questioning of Bekim Mazreku in the presence of journalists where he testified to the alleged murder of civilians and their burning in the "limestone kilns," and to the exclusive interview by Milovan Drecun for Serbian Radio Television*

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1 Cited from Shqiptarja, Fundi i pavarësisë së mbikqyrur http://www.shqiptarja.com/kosova/2727/fundi-i-pavaresise-se-mbikqyrur-vetevendosja-kerkoi-heqjen-e-nen-1-3-117481.html

2 Večernje novosti, Imamo svedoka o uzimanju organa (We have an organ extraction eyewitness), 09.09.2012 http://www.novosti.rs/vesti/naslovna/dosije/aktuelno.292.html:396228-Imamo-svedoka-o-uzimanju-organa

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

5 Discussed in Chapter One of this book

with this same "eyewitness." Like Marinkovic and Drecun, the Serbian prosecutor arranged a special TV show about the alleged trafficking of human organs extracted from Serbian prisoners.

After three days, Serbian Radio Television aired the special TV show entitled "The Crime Anatomy"[1] in which the Serbian public could watch the interview by the journalist with this "protected eyewitness." This show, as planned by those who prepared it, shocked the Serbian public. A special guest of this TV show was the Serbian War Crimes deputy prosecutor, Bruno Vekaric.

During the show, Vekaric explained that the prosecution had decided to publish the testimony of the "protected witness" because they feared that this case could be silenced. He stressed that before this evidence became public, it was verified by medical experts and was considered as credible.

"No matter how shocking it is, the evidence is real," said Bruno Vekaric.

I hope that in this chapter the reader will be able to see the extent to which the fabrications of a judicial system controlled by new policies with the logic of the old regime may be sustained.

Dick Marty's Report

As I discussed earlier, subsequent to the publication of Carla Del Ponte's book, through a Serbian and Russian initiative, the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe received a draft resolution in regard to the inhumane treatment of people and to the illegal trade of human organs in Kosovo. The draft resolution[2] submitted by the Russian MP, Konstantin Kosachev, aroused great interest, especially within the Committee on Legal Issues and Human Rights of the Council of Europe. This committee simultaneously appointed Senator Dick Marty to be in charge of proposing an initial draft of the resolution and to compile a report on this issue.

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[1] RTS 1- Anatomia zlocina-Trgovina organima srba sa Kosmeta, 10.09.2012 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yYgj4JH-_Ag

[2] Conseil de l'Europe, Assamblée Parlementaire, dokumenti i cituar, Doc. 11574, 15 avril 2008

Here, it is important to reiterate Dick Marty's position, which came to light at the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe on April 16th, 2008. During his speech in this session, Dick Marty declared that, "Everyone who is concerned about crime knows that unfortunately, Kosovo has always been the center of international organized crime, perhaps even more today than before." If we consider this remark in light of Marty's declaration a few days earlier expressing his revulsion at the characterization of the KLA as an innocent and charitable organization, then the question that comes up is how was Dick Marty suited for a position requiring a balanced and fair-minded approach to the issue? In my opinion, the appointment of the Swiss senator Dick Marty to lead the investigation of the allegations of Carla Del Ponte was anything but a neutral appointment. pFive months after the International Court of Justice brought the decision that the Kosovo Declaration of Independence had not violated general international law, resolution 1244 of the Security Council, which formed the constitutional framework of Kosovo, or any other applicable regulation of international law. On December 12th, 2010, Dick Marty submitted the project report entitled "The inhumane treatment of people and illegal trafficking of human organs in Kosovo." On December 16th, Marty's proposal was unanimously adopted by the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe. On January 7th, 2011, the same proposal was submitted in a form of a resolution[1], which was then adopted by the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe on January 25th, 2011.

In order to avoid leaving any doubts about what Dick Marty meant by the word "Kosovo," he marked the word with an asterix, even in the title of the draft project, in order to clarify the point in his footnotes. In his explanation, Marty specified the text he presented as a report, and noted that all references dealing with Kosovo, be it the territory, the

[1] Conseil de l'Europe, Assamblée Parlementaire, Doc. 12462, 07 janvier 2011
Le traitement inhumain de personnes et le trafic illicite d'organes humains au Kosovo
http://www.assembly.coe.int/nw/xml/XRef/Xref-DocDetails-FR.asp?FileID=12608&lang=fr

institutions, or its inhabitants, must be understood in full accordance with Resolution 1244 of the Security Council of the United Nations and without prejudice to the status of Kosovo.[1] Neither Senator Marty nor the Council of Europe appeared to understand the irony in his assertion that anything he authored was "without prejudice."

In the previous part of this book I mentioned that Marty, who had never raised his voice to to stop the Serbian military and police attacks in Kosovo, ruptured his throat while demanding that NATO cease bombing Serbian military and police targets, which he described as, "Illegal attacks against Serbia." This man regarded the Kosovo Albanians not as a nation entitled to self-determination, but as "Albanian-speakers" who had declared independence in violation of international law.

And it was he who spoke of Resolution 1244 of the UN Security Council as a guarantee of Serbian territorial integrity and asserted that Kosovo is a Serbian province, which would be administrated temporarily by internationals. This person who declared that the majority of countries have not and will recognize Kosovo, revealed his biases against Kosovo as a territory with institutions and a population under the sovereignty and integral territory of Serbia.

This same Dick Marty, who through an appeal not to "prejudice" Kosovo's status, tried to keep alive the Serbian interpretation of Resolution 1244, according to which Kosovo is a part of Serbia.

After his request that Kosovo be defined in accordance with the interpretation of Resolution 1244 which favored the opponents of Kosovo's independence, Dick Marty devoted special attention to an argument concerning the failure of investigations undertaken by The Hague Court into the alleged crimes of the KLA. In the same way, using the same terminology compiled by the Serbian secret service, Dick

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[1] Conseil de l'Europe, Assamblée Parlementaire, Commission des questions juridiques et des droits de l'homme, Traitement inhumain de personnes et trafic illicite d'organes humains au Kosovo, explanation after pargraph 6
http://assembly.coe.int/asp/apfeaturesmanager/defaultArtSiteVoir.asp?ID=964
I the following footnotes this report will be shortly refered to as: Dick Marty's report

Marty considered the Hague investigations to be a failure because of two factors: one related to the Albanian society and other related to the political and diplomatic assistance of Western countries, in particular of the USA.

In his discussion of the factors related to the function of Albanian society, in paragraph 53 in his report, Dick Marty stated, "We have concluded that the structures of the KLA units of the zones in Kosovo from where their commanders originate, were mostly built according to a hierarchy based on loyalty and the code of honor of the clans or the broad families of Albanian ethnicity, which form a set of traditional Albanian laws known by the name Kanun."[1] In addition, Marty and his co-conspirators concluded that the main units of the KLA and their respective operational zone commanders were almost an exact copy of the structures that controlled several forms of organized crime in the territories where the KLA was operating.[2]

To make his version of events more comprehensible to the reader, Dick Marty stated that things in Kosovo are very simple to understand. To find out who is in charge of the various trading and smuggling activities flourishing in the region, it is sufficient to know who the KLA commander in the respective zone in Kosovo or Albania was.[3]

In this case the reader can see that things are even simpler than Marty says. His case is completely identical to the Serbian propaganda published in the *White Books*. The only difference is that he doesn't state the real name of the source of information, and he lacks the figurative chart of the Albanian mafia clans that are based on "Kanuni." To hide the traces of his Serbian propaganda source, Dick Marty claims to have relied for his information on personnel who have worked for years in Kosovo and who had become the most respected observers in the field of justice in the region.[4] However, he

[1] Ibid., paragraph 53
[2] Ibid., paragraph 54
[3] Ibid., paragraph 55
[4] Ibid., paragraph 26

did not specify whether he meant Serbian people of the judiciary who had withdrawn to Serbia together with the Serbian military and police forces, people like Danica Marinkovic, or international lawyers like Céline Bardet, who had come to Kosovo to "help." Marty contended that he had limited himself to claims related to him by these legal representatives. He said that it had been extremely difficult to infiltrate the Albanian networks of organized crime, a.k.a. the Albanian mafia, which were located in Albania and neighboring countries, mostly in Kosovo and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and within the Albanian diaspora. Furthermore, infiltrating the Albanian mafia is way more difficult than infiltrating inside the Italian mafia.[1]

Dick Marty knew full well that infiltrating the Albanian Mafia is impossible, because it doesn't exist in reality; it is an invention of the Serbian secret services aiming at the stigmatization of the Albanians. However, trying to hide the fact that his reports were informed by the Serbian Secret Service, Dick Marty blames the Albanians for the impregnability of the Albanian mafia. In particular, he blames the loyalty and the code of honor within the Albanian clans because, according to him, those who are positioned in the lowest level of the criminal networks' hierarchy, would rather accept to decades in prison or punishment for not cooperating with justice than to deliver any member of their clan.[2]

In her book, Carla Del Ponte expressed a lack of trust in Albanian interpreters, which was reiterated by Dick Marty in his report. He blamed them for the failure of investigations of war crimes committed in Kosovo. In his report, without naming names, Dick Marty writes that people in charge of the international administration had told him that they were unable to confirm the credibility of their sources because they had to rely on local interpreters, who often spread false information about the people who were undergoing investigation. As a result of this, EULEX

[1] Ibid., paragraph 26
[2] Ibid., paragraph 26

was obliged to hire interpreters from other countries in order to continue its most important investigations.[1]

Instead of accepting the reality that there were no facts to be found about something that had not really occurred, Dick Marty's response was the same as those who argued the following: "The Albanian mafia blames KFOR and UNMIK for the lack of seriousness dedicated to KLA crimes." Although he blamed KFOR and UNMIK, Marty tried to explain the motives behind the reluctance of the internationals to investigate the supposed crimes of the KLA. According to Marty, during the struggle against Serbian forces, Western countries had refrained from direct interventions on the ground, preferring to conduct their strikes on targets from the air. Because of that, the KLA had become their indispensable ally on the ground. Since they needed the KLA, the international actors had chosen to turn a blind eye to the war crimes they committed.[2] In summary, the refusal by the West to take Serbian propaganda as fact and the shutdown of investigations due to lack of evidence, are characterized by Dick Marty as an unwillingness of the West to confront their KLA allies who fought on the ground.

If the Western countries and the USA lacked the will to confront the KLA, Dick Marty was ready to oppose claims from Western countries that the KLA was an innocent and charitable organization.

After espousing the fabrication by the Serbian secret service about the clan orientation of Albanian society, he focused on the KLA.

The reader may recall that according to the Serbian *White Book*, "Behind the ideological and national motives for the creation of a single Albanian state, regardless if it be called Great Albania or Great Kosovo, there were hidden interests of certain criminal structures who are inclined to become a part of the existing political and economical processes to legalize their criminal activities."[3]

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[1] Ibid., paragraph 7 preliminary reviews.
[2] Ibid., paragraph 7 preliminary reviews
[3] Vlada Serbije, *Albanski terorizam i organizovani kriminal na Kosovu i Metohiji*, p.7-8 http://sorryserbia.com/wp/belaknjiga.pdf

Marching in lock step with the Milosevic political orientation, Dick Marty initially tried to overturn the image of the Kosovo Liberation Army as a guerrilla army that fought valiantly to protect the rights of their countrymen to live in the territory of Kosovo.[1] He declared that he and his team had discovered that this image was inconsistent to the reality of the situation in Kosovo.[2]

Indeed, the section from paragraph 29 all the way to paragraph 92 of the political report signed by Dick Marty contains a synthesis of the *White Book,* which represents the fabricated image by the Serbian secret service as a "real" image of the KLA.

Thus, disguised as detailed results of investigations some 67 out of 176 paragraphs contained in this report[3] were dedicated to "KLA factions and their connections with organized crime."[4]

Dick Marty sought to prepare the ground for a convincing case that trafficking of organs taken from kidnapped Serbs in Kosovo by members of the KLA had taken place. He wanted to persuade his audience that kidnapped Serbs had undergone extractions of organs in improvised clinics in Albania, which were then sent to customers from Western countries, who paid dearly for these organs. To that end, in this Dick Marty asserts that, "Before, during and after the war in Kosovo, the KLA had operated mainly in North Albania, where the Serbian forces had never been positioned."[5]

To support this claim, Dick Marty in paragraph 38 of his report, explained that his information came from their sources, which were close to the KLA and on the testimonies of KLA members who were arrested by the Serbian police. According to Marty, from north Albania the KLA terrorists had managed to smuggle weapons and ammunition loaded on horses, to Kosovo, by using mountainous roads. They distributed these in different

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[1] Dick Marty's Report, paragraph 31
[2] Ibid., paragraph 31
[3] More than 1/3 of the report
[4] Part three 3 of the report
[5] Ibid., paragraph 36

regions of Kosovo, in order to commit, as described by the Serbian police, "Terrorist attacks against Serbian security forces."[1]

Dick Marty, in complete accord with the account of the Serbian interpretation of events, contended that "Kosovo Albanians and Albanian citizens believed these smuggling operations were heroic acts."[2] In a society were loyalty and the code of honor of clans prevail, Marty explained, crimes such as smuggling are glorified. Marty's simplistic explanation continued with his assertion that the Albanians in Kosovo, even after ten years under international administration, have still failed to develop a genuine civil society![3]

Within the logic of this interpretation, Marty characterizes his version of events as "clear" and "understandable!" In a culture without a civil society where mafia clans have imposed the law of silence, the commanders of the operational zones of the KLA were carbon copies of the structures that controlled organized crime in particular territories. After the withdrawal of Serbian forces, KLA commanders took political power into their own hands.[4] Hence, in such a clan society where, except for crime, nothing else functions, even the mafia does not operate in a single hierarchical pyramid, on top of which would only stand one "godfather." Rather, the in Kosovo there are a series of pyramids with a number of "godfathers" at the top.[5]

Dick Marty and his team tried to show the genesis of "criminal structures" in Kosovo, and, according to their sources, these structures are intertwined with KLA factions. In paragraph 48 of his report, Dick Marty pompously declares that, "The KLA factions which have existed since 1998 became even more apparent after the death of the well-known *peasant commander* of the KLA, Adem Jashari (emphasis

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1 Ibid., paragraph 39
2 Ibid., paragraph 39
3 *Rapport de la Délégation parlementairev suissev auprès du Conseil de l'Europe du 31.12.2008*, cited earlier
4 Dick Marty's Report, paragraph 84
5 Vlada Serbije, *Albanski terorizam i organizovani kriminal na Kosovu i Metohiji*, p.38-39

mine)."[1] Marty used this derogatory terminology for the Albanians in spite of the caution by Swiss historian, Oliver Jens Schmitt, that those who discuss events related to Kosovo, "To be more vigilant, especially when dealing with topics related to organized crime because the Serbian government and Russian circles had a strategy aimed at the incrimination of Kosovo's Albanians and the presentation of them as criminals and drug dealers."[2]

Even so, despite this request for vigilance, Oliver Jens Schmitt also used the Serbian and Russian terminology incriminating Kosovo Albanians and derided, "The cult of the peasant Adem Jashari."[3] Likewise, to Dick Marty, Adem Jashari was a peasant, who smuggled weapons from Albania into Kosovo and who after his death emerged in national folklore as a romantic expression of the liberation of Kosovo.[4]

Despite his mocking use of the term "peasant," Marty's report describes the small groups of KLA as, "consisting of a loyal recruits and supporters from other clans or families closely related to and led by one of the self-announced founders of the KLA."[5] Let us not forget that Marty concluded that in their respective operational zones commanders were almost a carbon copy of the structures of certain forms of organized crime in the territories where the KLA was operating.[6]

However, to in an effort to make "cautious and non-generalizing statements" avoiding the stigmatization of the KLA, Dick Marty did not deny that a number of brave soldiers were willing to go to the front to resist the enemy even if they had to give their lives for the cause of an independent

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[1] Dick Marty's Report, paragraph 48
[2] Oliver Jens Schmitt, cited book, p. 227
[3] On the derogatory treatment and separation of peasant/citizen of Kosovo society by Oliver Jeans Schmitt see his cited book p.285-286. For a critical analysis towards this position see in general Jakup Krasniqi's book: *Një histori e kontestuar*, Publishing house *Buzuku*, Prishtina, 2013, p.118-124
[4] Dick Marty's Report, paragraph 48 and note 16
[5] Ibid., paragraph 49
[6] Ibid., paragraph 54

homeland for the Albanians of Kosovo.[1] Nevertheless, such fighters, according to Marty, did not constitute the majority of the KLA.[2]

Though he doesn't say it plainly, from the earlier positions of Dick Marty and his report it is clear that to him, fabricated notions by the Serbian secret service, that the majority of KLA fighters were terrorists, criminals, mafia etc., were true.

In his report, Marty discussed most of the "mafia clans" described in the Serbian *White Book*. Still, out of all the KLA structures that entered the political and economic processes in Kosovo, Dick Marty singled out the "Drenica Group" as the most dangerous compared to other so-called ruling mafia structures in the region. Even though the *White Book* is his main source of information, Marty does not incorporate in his report the organizational chart published by the Serbian secret service about the "Drenica Group." Nevertheless, all the claims from the *White Book* were faithfully reproduced in the report, including names, connections, and supposed criminal activities. It is interesting to note that Marty concealed his plagiarism of *The White Book* by referring to the "branches of a river of information" as his source. Dick Marty said that during his "research" he relied on intelligence from NATO and four countries.[3] However, at least one of these four intelligence services on which he claims to have relied, based their report on data provided by the Serbian secret service. The report of the German secret service or BND,[4] as mentioned earlier, on page 14 paragraph 2.2.1, states clearly that the source of information was the Serbian secret service. Apparently, Marty did not look at the BND's sources.

Marty was unconcerned about the ultimate credibility of his sources. To the appointee of the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe and his team, the important thing they had "discovered" during their

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1 Ibid., paragraph 32
2 Ibid., paragraph 32
3 Germany (BDN), Italy (SISMI), Great Britain (MI6) and Greece (EYP)
4 BND Kosovo Feb 2005 vs Vertraulich
http://fr.scribd.com/doc/22922472/Bnd-Kosovo-Feb-2005-vs-Vertraulich

"investigation" was their conclusion that the leader of this group, or using the terminology generally applied to criminal networks, the "godfather" of this group was Kosovo Prime Minister Hashim Thaci.[1]

In addition to using the term "godfather" to stigmatize Hashim Thaci as a "mobster," Dick Marty continued with the metaphorical figure of the Mafia structure, the "octopod." In paragraph 67 of his report he referred to Hashim Thaci as the most dangerous KLA godfather of the "octopod."[2]

Dick Marty and the trafficking of human organs

The report published under Dick Marty's name is a synthesis of defamatory material disseminated by the Serbian secret service about the "Drenica Group." Hashim Thaci, characterized as the most dangerous of the octopod godfathers of the KLA[3] and other KLA personalities such as Xhavit Haliti, Azem Syla, Kadri Veseli and Fatmir Limaj were regarded as members of a "terrorist and criminal organization," according to Marty's report, which accused these men of horrific acts of murder, kidnapping, imprisonment and mistreatment of non-Albanian civilians living in Kosovo.[4]

In addition to these crimes, the "Drenica Group" was also accused of arms smuggling, drug trafficking,[5] prostitution[6] illegal cigarette[7] and petroleum trading,[8] trafficking in human beings,[9] and finally, the selling of human organs.[10]

In this report, the discussion of various criminal activities and the connection of these activities to KLA leaders served to lay the foundation

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1 Dick Marty's report, paragraph 58
2 Ibid., paragraph 67
3 Ibid., paragraph 67
4 Ibid., paragraph 72
5 Ibid., paragraph 66
6 Ibid., paragraph 134
7 Ibid., paragraph 71 note 28
8 Ibid., paragraph 71 note 28
9 Ibid., paragraph 65
10 Ibid., paragraphs 159-167

for the most heinous crime of all: the extraction of organs from Serb prisoners and the sale of these organs on the black market to Western countries.

In paragraph 74 of the report he accuses the leaders of the "Drenica Group" of two related series of crimes: managing the KLA detention centers in the Albanian territory; and determining the fate of the prisoners in these premises, including the disappearance of many kidnapped civilians in Kosovo who were taken across the border to Albania.[1]

Dick Marty, who was appointed by The Committee on Legal Affairs and Human Rights of the Council of Europe to lead the investigation related to the accusations by Carla Del Ponte about the trade in organs of Serbs kidnapped by the KLA, was well aware of the many criticisms of the claims of the former Prosecutor General of the Court of The Hague.

Among the numerous challenges to Carla Del Ponte's version of events, was the one addressing the technical difficulties in transporting of organs from the north of Albania to the Rinas airport. Namely, during the period of the alleged trade in human organs, the time needed to travel from north Albania to the airport would have taken at least 12 hours travel and suitable transportation vehicles for that terrain. Clearly, any harvested organs would not have survived the trip.

When members raised this contradiction, Dick Marty declared, "During our investigation we have identified at least six places of detention in Albania, located in an area stretching from Cahani to the foot of the mountain Pashtriku, nearly on the northernmost point of Albania, and all the way to the coastal road of Durres, along the Mediterranean coast on western Albania."[2]

The next part of the report described the detention centers of the KLA during the war and the arrests of members and associates of the KLA after the conflict.[3]

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[1] Ibid., paragraph 74
[2] Ibid., paragraph 93
[3] Ibid., paragraph 101

During this description Dick Marty also addressed the controversy regarding claims that supposedly the organ extraction was done at the house known as "The Yellow House," or K House. Initially, he gave a dark description of criminal acts supposedly carried out in this house, such as the murder of Serbian prisoners and the sexual abuse of women by KLA members and inhabitants of the nearby village Rripe.[1] Dick Marty claimed that, "There is sufficient evidence for all these crimes, but KLA imposed silence on the inhabitants of village Rripe, either with threats, or with offers of money, alcohol, drugs and prostitutes."[2]

Dick Marty insisted that he had been in possession of "proof," but the evidence disappeared during the burying and exhumation of corpses.[3] Also, the revelation of these crimes is hindered by the refusal of the Rripe villagers to testify because of fear, or their corruption through gifts of money, alcohol, drugs and prostitutes. Marty's excuses for the team's lack of evidence were apparently accepted, his report was considered credible, and the work of the team that compiled the report was qualified as a "serious" investigation.

Regarding the "intelligence" about the "Yellow House" Dick Marty claimed that his evidence has revealed another dimension of the operations undertaken by the KLA, which escaped the notice of the team of American journalists, the prosecutor of The Hague Court, Carla Del Ponte, and the constant media investigations about this issue.[4]

The report contends that the "Yellow House" cannot be considered the final destination during the transport of the prisoners to detention centers. Marty argued that the exact role of this house in the criminal operations of the KLA might have been misinterpreted.[5] Instead, according to Marty, this was not the house were the extraction of organs had occurred, but rather, the "Yellow House" had been a way station,

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[1] Ibid., paragraphs 141-148
[2] Ibid., paragraphs 145-147
[3] Ibid., paragraph 147
[4] Ibid., paragraph 149
[5] Ibid., paragraph 151

where the prisoners were kept up to the moment of transfer to the detention center where they awaited the final fate.[1]

This "discovery" was meant to eliminate any suspicions aroused by the argument that the organs were extracted at a distance of 10 to 12 hours from the only international airport in Albania. Marty and his team claimed to have discovered that the location of the "organ extraction," where the "selected" prisoners ended up, was a two story house which served as a shelter for the trustees of the KLA and for the organized criminal groups which dealt with drug trafficking.[2] In this "shelter" located at the "Fushe-Kruja axis" the selected small group of Serbian captives had met their death.[3] According to Marty's "sources" for the report, the "Fushe-Kruja axis" was selected as the most suitable location for this activity because of its location near the main airport of Tirana.[4] The relocation of the organ removal site struck a blow to Marty's credibility.

The "axis" between the the settlements of "Fushe" and "Kruja" that Marty's report claimed was the site of organ removal does not exist. Marty and his team apparently misread their map and saw Fushe and Kruja as separate villages. The fact is that the two are one city, not two settlements joined by a road axis. Marty's relocation of the KLA's organ removal site did nothing for the credibility of his report.

After the site was moved from the northern mountains of Albania to a field close to the airport, Dick Marty, thinking he had resolved that issue, paid special attention to the medical procedures of extraction of organs for transplant.

One of the widespread criticism of Carla Del Ponte's book, criticism coming mainly from surgery specialists, had to do with her statement that victims who had one kidney extracted wer stitched back together

[1] Ibid., paragraph 152
[2] Ibid., paragraph 158
[3] Ibid., paragraph 159
[4] Ibid., paragraph 167

and returned to the hut to await another time on the operating table to have their other organs harvested.[1]

To avoid such criticism, Dick Marty declares that, "No elements were discovered to prove the claims that certain victims, after having one kidney removed, were stitched back and detained again until the other kidney was removed."[2]

After direct consultations with experts[3] Dick Marty rejects skepticism regarding the possibility of performing organ removal in Albania at that time, and according to prominent experts in organ transplanting, the procedure of removing kidneys from corpses was possible, effective and with low risk.[4]

He and his team claimed that during their investigation, they had discovered that, "The KLA had applied the approved method of extracting organs from corpses exactly." Moreover, Marty and his team asserted that, the evidence for their conclusions referred to a reliable and coherent methodology employed by the KLA for the killing prisoners, usually through a bullet in the head, before the victims underwent a surgery extracting one or more organs. "We learned that it mainly had to do with trading kidneys extracted from the corpses, meaning that the kidneys were extracted after death and through a series of sophisticated surgical procedures which required controlled clinical conditions, for example, intensive use of anesthetics."[5]

Dick Marty and his team claim that they relied on "witnesses" for their report, but in the same report they claim that nobody was willing to testify because the KLA had imposed silence, be it through threats, money, or other incentives.

Dick Marty's indictment of individuals does not stop with the supposed silence imposed on Albanians by the "Drenica Group." His

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[1] Carla Del Ponte, cited book La traque, les criminels de guerre et moi, p. 457
[2] Dick Marty's Report, note 41.
[3] Paragraph 166, note 43
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid., paragraph 162

severest criticism is expressed toward the entire international community in Kosovo, beginning with the government of the United States and the other Western allied forces all the way to the legal authorities who practice under the auspices of the European Union. According to Marty, all of these parties possessed the same information about crimes committed by the "Drenica Group," but none of them was willing to move on the situation and to hold those responsible accountable for these actions.[1]

In particular, the report criticizes the Albanian prosecution, the Kosovo administration, the USA, and the rest of the Western allied forces because without their help Hashim Thaci would have not been able to climb to his position,[2] nor would the "Drenica Group" have gained power in Kosovo. Marty leveled sharp criticism of UNMIK, EULEX and the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia when the case was closed due to a lack of evidence.[3] Marty was silent, however, about the fact that some of the documents prepared by the Serbian authorities were destroyed, while others remained in the building of the federal government of Yugoslavia, controlled by the Serbs. Nothing else is known about these documents except that all of them that related to these alleged crimes were seized.[4]

In spite of this, Dick Marty does not direct any criticisms towards the Serbian authorities, the Prosecutior of war crimes and the Serbian secret service. Furthermore, he expresses regret for the failure of the efforts of the special prosecution in Belgrade on war crimes. The only gratitude expressed in this report is addressed to the special Serbian prosecutor for his willingness and cooperation.[5]

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1 Ibid., paragraph 71
2 Ibid., paragraph 60
3 See paragraph 17
4 Miroslav Antić, cited article, *Obmane Delponteove*
5 Dick Marty's Report, paragraphs 17-18

Reactions to Dick Marty's Report

As noted in the beginning of this chapter on December 12th, 2010, Dick Marty submitted a preliminary draft resolution for adoption by the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe and a draft report regarding the, "Inhuman treatment of people and illegal trafficking with human organs in Kosovo."[1]

Four days later, on December 16th, these preliminary reports were unanimously adopted. After the debates of January 7th and 25th of 2011, Dick Marty's report became an official report of the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe. In addition, the parliamentary assembly adopted Resolution 1782, a call for "Investigating the claims related to inhumane treatment of people and illegal human organs trafficking in Kosovo."[2]

On December 16th, 2010, the same day that the general assembly of the Council of Europe adopted the preliminary submission of Dick Marty in Switzerland, some 34 MP's of the Democratic Union of the Centre Group submitted a "postulate"[3] addressed to the Swiss Federal Council.

The term "postulate" is primarily known as a mathematical notion, which refers to the necessity of prior acceptance of a principle as "true," without having to demonstrate its authenticity. In Swiss law a "postulate" refers to a request by MP's addressed to the Federal Council, to submit a law or other measure for approval by the Swiss parliament. An analysis of the content of the "postulate" from the Swiss members of parliament shows that it functions like a mathematical postulate. In the text of this postulate, the MP signatories informed the Federal Council that on December 16th,

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1 Conseil de l'Europe, Assemblée Parlementaire, AS/Jur (2010)46, 12 décembre 2010
Commission des questions juridiques et des droits de l'homme
Traitement inhumain de personnes et trafic illicite d'organes humains au Kosovo
http://assembly.coe.int/asp/apfeaturesmanager/defaultArtSiteVoir.asp?ID=964

2 Conseil de l'Europe, Assemblée Parlementaire
http://assembly.coe.int/Mainf.asp?link=/Documents/AdoptedText/ta11/FRES1782.htm

3 L'Assamblée fédérale - Le Parlement suisse, 10.4066- Postulat
Rapport de Dick Marty sur un trafic d'organes au Kosovo et la politique étrangère de la Suisse
http://www.parlament.ch/f/suche/pages/geschaefte.aspx?gesch_id=20104066

2010 the European Council reviewed the report of Dick Marty about human organ trafficking in Kosovo, and that the "facts" contained in this statement in relation to organ trafficking in Kosovo are very real[1] and therefore have no need for verification.

For this reason, the signatories of this postulate asked the Swiss Federal Council to:

1. Review its policy towards Kosovo,
2. Develop a new policy towards Kosovo, which should more carefully consider the legitimate interests of Serbia and the Serbian minority in Kosovo.
3. Wait for a favorable opportunity in order to contribute to the search for a new solution that is fair and acceptable in solving the conflict between Serbia and Kosovo.[2]

In their argument, the MP signatories of the postulate reiterated the accusations contained in the report and in particular spelled out the allegation that the "Drenica Group" holds the central role in these criminal activities, whose godfather is none other than Hashim Thaci, Kosovo's current prime minister. According to the designers of the postulate, "In the light of this shocking reality two things are revealed: Firstly, the culture, the governance and the practice of Kosovo's authorities are far from the minimum conditions to be fulfilled by a legal state. And secondly, the process that led to the controversial recognition of Kosovo was consequently followed by a systematic discrimination against Serbia in comparison with Kosovo. These two elements justify the review of the Federal Council policy toward Kosovo."[3]pOn February 23rd, 2011 the Federal Council rejected this postulate. Readers who wish to know more about the full argument made for its dismissal should examine the references in the footnotes of this page. I will focus on the fact that both the timing of this submission and the content of this postulate from Dick

[1] Ibid.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.o

Marty's friends in the European Council are a clear indicator of the real motives for compiling this report: the review of the European Council's recognition of Kosovo's independence.

In this regard, Serbian diplomacy did not fall behind. The Serbian Ministry of Foreign Affairs mobilized their entire arsenal to present the Serbs as "victims" of the war in Kosovo. I will only mention some of the activities of this ministry in relation to the new political climate subsequent to the adoption of Dick Marty's Report.

In the session of the Security Council on February 16th, 2011, with the review of the UN Secretary General report (S/2011/43) on the agenda, The foreign affairs minister of Serbia, Vuk Jeremic, presented a request to form a legal mechanism which would deal with the Dick Marty's allegations of the alleged crimes against the Serbs.[1]

Jeremic reiterated this request during his visit to Paris[2] on March 3rd, 2011 in a letter[3] sent to the UN Secretary General on April 19th, 2011 and in the session[4] of the UN Security Council dated May 12th, 2011.

Starting from the Resolution 1782 of the general assembly of the European Council, the permanent representatives of member states of the UN Security Council and the ministers of foreign affairs of Serbia and Kosovo[5] did not raise any opposition to conducting an investigation in order to illuminate such allegations. The divergence of opinion appeared with the issue on the mandate of the institution, which was supposed to determine precisely who would be in charge of carrying out this investigation.

The minister of foreign affairs of Serbia, Vuk Jeremic argued that "EULEX was not qualified enough to carry out such investigations,

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1 Nations Unies, Conseil de Sécurité, S/PV.6483, Seanca 6483, 16 shkurt 2011 http://www.un.org/fr/documents/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/PV.6483

2 Trafic d'organes: la Serbie réclame une enquête de l'ONU http://www.genethique.org/fr/content/trafic-d'organes-la-serbie-réclame-une-enquête-de-l'onu#.VDQGyrizWQl

3 Nations Unies, Conseil de Sécurité, S/PV.6534, Seanca 6534, 12 maj 2011, p.15 http://www.un.org/fr/documents/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/PV.6534

4 Ibid., p.4-8

5 Ibid., p.8-12

because its mandate did not allow it to carry out investigations outside Kosovo." He also insisted that the UN create an ad hoc investigative mechanism, which would be under the authority of the Security Council. France, England and the USA were in favor of EULEX carrying out the investigations, whereas the states that didn't recognize Kosovo's independence, in particular, Russia and China, requested the mandate of this mechanism to be under the authority of the UN.[1]

In accordance with Resolution 1782 of the General Assembly of the Council of Europe, John Clint Williamson was appointed chief of the Special Task Force EULEX to conduct an investigation into the allegations of human organs trafficking.[2]

Electing an American to be in charge of the investigation of these war crimes was controversial and received a lot of attention in the media. However, in spite of the outcry, Williamson had considerable credibility because of his having led the Department of Justice and Human Rights of UNMIK during 2001-2002. At that time Vladimir Bozovic, staff of the Serbian Ministry of Interior Affairs, stated that they had had good cooperation and that the Serbians were satisfied with his work.[3]

John Clint Williamson was already well acquainted with this issue, and he also enjoyed the support of the institutions of the European Union. Through Resolution 1782 the General Assembly of the Council of Europe requested that the member states of the EU along with other states provide EULEX with the necessary means, both in logistics and qualified personnel, to cope with the complex and important mission entrusted to Williamson.[4]

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[1] The readers who wish to know more on the aforementioned references may read the positions of the representativse who spoke in these UN SC sessions.

[2] Bruxelles 2, "Un Américain chef de la task force d'enquête à Eulex Kosovo" (Një amerikan në krye të task forcës hetuese të Eulex-it në Kosovë), 29 gusht 2011 http://www.bruxelles2.eu/2011/08/29/un-americain-chef-de-la-task-force-denquete-a-eulex-kosovo.html

[3] Ibid.

[4] Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, Resolution 1782, paragraph 19.1.2

This resolution demanded close cooperation from the Serbian authorities with EULEX, in particular, by providing all the documentation and evidence in Serbian hands about any crimes committed during and after the war in Kosovo.[1] In addition, the resolution called for unreserved cooperation from the authorities in Albania and Kosovo with both EULEX and the Serbians in order to shed light on the crimes committed in Kosovo.[2]

It was specifically requested at the start of this serious and independent investigation, that it be extended until verification of the accusations of human organ trafficking in Albanian territory[3] could be either found or the accusations could be discounted. In order to enhance the efficiency of the team investigating the claims in the report, the general assembly requested full cooperation from the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia by making available information and elements of the evidence at their disposal that could help EULEX to prosecute those responsible for war crimes.[4]

In search of evidence of human organ trafficking

The request of the parliamentary assembly addressed to the International Criminal Court for the former Yugoslavia shed light on a number of problems. What information and what elements of evidence chould be submitted to the court that closed the investigation precisely because it lacked information and evidence! What could this court, accused by Marty of destroying materials from this case, submit?

A number of questions of this nature reveal that behind the accusations of the alleged "destruction of evidence" is concealed the tendency of the Serbs to lose the traces of their fabrication attributing the most heinous crimes to the Albanians in general, and to the KLA in particular.

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[1] Ibid., paragraph 19.19.4.2
[2] Ibid., paragraph 19.5.1
[3] Ibid., paragraph 19.5.3
[4] Ibid., paragraph 19.3

Because the issue of the disappearance of proofs and testimonies has resurfaced, it is important to reiterate some of the cases discussed in the first part of the book.

The charges of "destroyed evidence" are available in chapter one and throughout this book to the end. In chapter one the staged judicial process against the Mazreku brothers, their sentence to 20 years in prison, and finally their release from the Supreme Court of Serbia as innocent was discussed as well as the climate created by the publication of the book by Carla Del Ponte. At the time of the parliamentary assembly, members of the old regime in Belgrade who were still in the highest structures of the new government, hoped that Ponte's book would provide a favorable context to return to this case, even though the Supreme Court of Serbia and found it unsubstantiated and released Luan and Bekim Mazreku with a statement of their innocence. In light of this new investigation, Danica Marinkovic,[1] Milosevic's most reliable investigative judge, called for the retrial of the Mazreku brothers.

In the same spirit, Serbia's deputy prosecutor for war crimes, Bruno Vekaric also called for the revival of the trial process of the Mazreku brothers in the court of Nis. However, president of the supreme court of Nis Zoran Krstic, explained that, "The original records of the investigation process are missing, as well as essential documents for this case, which are in the district court of Prishtina, which refuses to release them."[2] To make the "disappearance of evidence" more convincing, deputy prosecutor of Serbia for war crimes Bruno Vekaric, made an official address to the EULEX authorities in Kosovo requesting them to submit to the court in Nis all of the documents related to this case, so that "justice" might be served. Neither UNMIK nor the Prishtina district court, were spared accusations of culpability for the disappearance of the evidence and testimonies.

Citizens of Kosovo were keen to know the grounding of the "proofs" with which these two youngsters were sentenced on April 18, 2001 by

[1] Present judges at high court of Kragujevac

[2] *Politika*, cited article, *Zločinci iz Klečke "nisu na Kosovu"*

the district court of Nis. If indeed the records of this staged trial had disappeared, then it is clear that after the brothers' acquittal by the Serbian court, the only parties with any interest in destroying the criminal traces of the investigative and judicial institutions of Serbia besides the falsifiers and fabricators of these court records against Albanian civilians.

In the Klecka Crematorium and Recak Masacre cases when Serbian fabricated propaganda was revealed, they insisted that they had had possession of evidence, but the evidence was destroyed. In a further attempt to convince all parties of their claims, Slavisa Dobricanin, chief of the Serbian forensic team, attempted to provide more "accurate" data with his assertion that, "The Finnish team had taken more than 3,000 photos and ten hours of video recordings whereas the technicians of the Serbian forensic team had taken 18,000 photos and hundreds of video recordings. Unfortunately, most of the photos and video recordings, as well as the report of the Finnish pathologists, in the possession of Mrs. Marinkovic,[1] disappeared forever as a result of the bombing to the provincial Secretariat of Internal Affairs of Prishtina in 1999 by NATO." It all seemed as if someone was trying hard to lose these materials as soon as possible.[2]

Due to lack of coordination with the court of Prishtina, the investigative judge Danica Marinkovic in regard to the evidence related to this case declared, "Following the investigations I gave the complete file to the authorized public prosecutor in charge of this case. The case should be at the district court of Prishtina to which we currently have no access, therefore I hope you can manage to secure the case. After I finished the investigations and received the results and opinions about the autopsy, I submitted the complete documentation to the public prosecutor of Prishtina on March 1st, 1999. This is case number *Kri 14/99*."[3]

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[1] Investigative judge of the district court of Prishtina

[2] Trial against Milosevic, Witness Slavisa Dobricanin, session of April 8th, 2005, p.572 and session of April 13th, 2005, p. 677

[3] Ibid., 275

Hence, according to investigative judge Danica Marinkovic, the complete documentation on the case of Recak was at district court of Prishtina, whereas the forensic medicine expert, Slavisa Dobricanin was claimed that the case documentation had disappeared forever as a result of the NATO bombing of the building of the provincial SIA. It is important to note here that the provincial SIA building was only partly damaged during the NATO bombings. Moreover, that building was just over 1,000 meters from the Prishtina district court building where the evidence was supposedly archived. It is therefore difficult to take these claims seriously.

Although Vladimir Bozovic who is employed at the Ministry of Interior Affairs of Serbia stated that, "The complete documentation of the sub-committee for the kidnapped and missing persons, prepared by the experts of forensic medicine like Slavisa Dobricanin, Vukasin Otasevic and others similar to them, and which was submitted to the federal government building, was fully destroyed, nothing is known about the rest of the documentation."[1] This is another instance of blaming the lack of evidence on someone else besides the Serbs.

In relation to the case of the Mazreku brothers and the demand of the Serbian deputy prosecutor for war crimes that they be retried, Bruno Vekaric formally requested the EULEX authorities in Kosovo to submit to Serbia all of the documentation related to this case. Related to this is an event from the chapter that discusses the "Klecka Crematorium." I would like to stress the fact when the investigative judge Danica Marinkovic improvised the questioning of Bekim Mazreku in the presence of journalists in order to "prove" the killing of Serbian civilians and their burning in the limestone kilns the Belgrade regime was not satisfied with the propaganda value of that interrogation. They also felt compelled to air an exclusive TV program for Radio Television of Serbia in which Milovan Drecun held an interview with the "eyewitness" Bekim Mazreku!

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[1] Politika, cited article, Za trgovinu organima Beograd saznao pre devet godina

This action of Milovan Drecun was considered by the Independent Journalists Association of Serbia as a media manipulation aiming at the spread of inter-ethnic and inter-religious hatred and the promotion of discrimination and hostilities. This strategy had created psychological preconditions to the most brutal violence and crimes.[1] For this reason, this independent Serbian journalist association filed charges against Milovan Drecun, on July 1st, 2009 at the War Crimes Court in Serbia.

However, Serbia's war crimes prosecutor Vladimir Vukcevic and his deputy Bruno Vekaric made sure that Milovan Drecun did not suffer any consequences. Rather, he is now chairman of the Parliamentary Committee of Serbia for Kosovo.

The Anatomy of a Crime: Marketing an Eyewitness

In the prologue of this chapter, I noted that Serbian war crimes prosecutor Vladimir Vukcevic told *Tanjug* that his office possessed the testimony of an eyewitness to the extraction and trafficking in human organs in Kosovo. Three days later, Radio Television of Serbia broadcast a special TV show entitled *The Anatomy of Crime* in which the Serbian public was shown an interview conducted by the reporter with a "protected witness." Besides the "eyewitness" there was also another "special guest" on the show, Bruno Vekaric, deputy prosecutor for war crimes in Serbia. This broadcast was strikingly similar to the media spectacle with Bekim Mazreku. The show demonstrated the same logic and the same scenario, with different characters.

In spite of the formulaic character of this broadcast, it was shown to tremendous effect. In Serbia, a media frenzy provoked by the statements of the eyewitness continued for the entire week after the broadcast. For example: "They Took His Heart While He Was Still Alive," "I Took the Heart of the Serb," and "I still Dream of the

[1] The complete lawsuit of the Independent Journalists Association can be consulted on this website: http://www.vreme.com/cms/view.php?id=875112&print=yes

Screams of the Serbian Victims," are only a few of the headlines in Serbian newspapers.[1]

The goal of airing this "exclusive show" was not only to raise awareness in the Serbian public. The war crimes prosecutor, Vladimir Vukcevic stated three days after the television broadcast of the "interview" that he hoped for a reaction from the investigative team led by Clint Williamson.[2] It didn't take long before the Serbian media published a story that the chief of the EULEX team for investigating the human organ trafficking in Kosovo announced his plan to travel to Belgrade in order to learn more about the testimony of the Serbian prosecution's "eyewitness."[3] Williamson's statement was confirmed by the deputy prosecutor, Bruno Vekaric, who said that during his visit to Belgrade, Williamson would have the opportunity to speak with the "protected witness."[4]

In Serbia, despite the reactions from some who promoted hatred and spread the fabrications of the Belgrade regime, there were also reactions against this type of manipulation. From the many responses of this kind, the article of the journalist Tatjana Tagirov is notable. This journalist of the Serbian daily *Novosti*, in her article entitled *Prosecution Follies for War Crimes,*[5] states that the description of the medical procedures in securing human organs for the black market are, "An insult to the intelligence of Serbian citizens."[6] She said, "It is

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1 E-Novine, Medicinski i pravni stručnjaci osporavaju Vukčevićeve dokaze - Svedočenje o vađenju organa je budalaština (Medical and forensic experts contradict the proofs of Vukcevic. The testimony for organ extractions is foolishness), 14.09.2012
http://www.e-novine.com/srbija/srbija-tema/71372-Svedoenje-vaenju-organa-budalatina.html

2 *BLIC*, "Vukčević ocekuje reakciju međunarodnog tima i Vilijamsona", (Vukcevic awaits reactions of the international team of Williamson), 13.09.2012
http://www.blic.rs/Vesti/Hronika/342578/Vukcevic-ocekuje-reakciju-medjunarodnog-tima-i-Vilijamsona

3 *Kurir*, *Tužilac Vilijamson stiže kod Vukčevića* (Judge Williamson arrives to meet Vukcevic) 12.09.2012
http://www.naslovi.net/2012-09-12/kurir/tuzilac-vilijamson-stize-kod-vukcevica/3850263

4 Tužilac Euleksa Vilijamson uskoro u Beogradu (EULEX investigator soon in Belgrade), 12.09.2012
http://www.naslovi.net/2012-09-12/mondo/tuzilac-euleksa-vilijamson-uskoro-u-beogradu/3849173

5 *Novosti*, No. 666, *Budalaštine Tužilaštva za ratne zločine* (Foolishness of the War Crimes Prosecutor)
http://arhiva.novossti.com/2012/09/budalastine-tuzilastva-za-ratne-zlocine/

6 Ibid.

not the first time that the prosecution, through RTS, is mocking the intelligence of the citizens."[1]

Unfortunately, this mockery of the public's intelligence by the "new" Belgrade regime, which had a striking similarity to the old one, was lost on those who were blinded by "anti-Americanism."

Dick Marty's report exploited the writers who repeated the propaganda of the Serbian secret service in order to stigmatize Albanians. According to the statement of the "protected witness" of the Serbian prosecution for war crimes, all the crimes of the KLA were supposedly being committed under the leadership of Hashim Thaci. It accused him of being, "The most dangerous godfather of the Kosovo octopod godfathers!"[2]

By considering as accurate the "evidence" fabricated in Belgrade, Serbian journalists used the opportunity to accuse US diplomacy and Western powers who helped Hashim Thaci obtain his position.[3]

The denounciation of the political and diplomatic assistance of the US and other Western powers to the "Albanian mafia" pervades the writings of most Serbian journalists and their adherents in the West, whose work is discussed in this book. I will not cite all of them because in the end they don't differ greatly from one another. I will only mention Pierre Péan's book, *Kosovo: a "Just" War for a Mafia State.*[4] To this author, the struggle of Kosovo was not a struggle for freedom and independence for the Albanian people but, "A just American war for creating a mafia state!"[5]

I focused on this piece because this author begins his reiteration of Serbian propaganda stigmatizing Albanians in the most dramatic way possible. In the preamble of his book, Péan repeats the "eyewitness" testimony, which was aired on Radio Television of Serbia. During this program an Albanian doctor, who was also a former KLA soldier,

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[1] Ibid.
[2] Dick Marty's Report, paragraph 67
[3] Ibid., paragraph 60
[4] Pierre Péan, cited article, *Kosovo : une guerre "juste" pour un Etat mafieux*
[5] Ibid, p.366

speaks about the way he extracted the heart of a Serbian captive, "For business purposes." Not only his preamble, but more than a third of his book is dedicated to "The human organ trade organized by the KLA."[1]

What follows is the complete "testimony" published in the book, included because it clearly reveals the way in which the ideological blindness of "anti-Americanism" has turned him into a propagator of the fabrications of Milosevic which continue with the "new" Belgrade regime.

The heart was still beating

"Several minutes later they brought a young boy, close to 19-20 years of age, with his hands tied up behind the back. He was not a KLA soldier and, of course I was not allowed to ask any questions. After all, who was I? A youngster in front of his superiors! The two soldiers who brought the detainee untied him and placed him on the medical table as patients are usually placed. After that they called two other persons to hold the legs of the detainee still. The doctor who instructed me what to do tore the patient's blouse in two leaving him naked. One of the doctors present brought a black doctor's bag, which was something new to me. From inside this bag he took out surgical instruments. *It was the first time I ever saw a scalpel, a lance and other items necessary to perform a surgical operation. Then a quarrel occurred. The older doctor began to yell and swear at the younger doctor whom he was referring to as 'my son.' I realized that they were close. The doctor passed a scalpel over to me. It was like a bad dream, an endless nightmare. Even to this day I recall scenes from that day and feel the same emotions. The doctor, who instructed me, told me what I was supposed to do. He told me to draw a straight line on the prisoner's body, starting from the neck to the end of the ribs, and then cut him following the line. The other*

[1] Particularly the ten last chapters (chapter 21-30) and 40 anexed pages!

doctor brought a box. In it there were bandages and a white glass bottle that smelt of alcohol, which I noticed when we started to clean the skin. After I had finished cleaning that part of the body, he told me, "Hurry up, we don't have much time!"

I noticed that the young man on the table was not Albanian. How did I notice that? When I got close to him with the scalpel he tried to free himself and the people holding him had to push harder. He started screaming for help, to call on God and to pray, "Lord, don't cut my throat, don't kill me!" Since I was a low ranked soldier, subject to orders of a higher ranked officer, I was obliged to start cutting. I began in the way I had learned during my surgical internship. I put my left hand over his chest to hold him and with my right hand I grabbed the scalpel and started to cut. When the scalpel reached the lower part of the body, blood started pouring out. When I reached somewhere close to the middle of the cut, the boy started screaming not to kill him and fainted. I was so terrified that I couldn't tell whether he was pretending or he had died. He may not have been dead, but he was not defending himself anymore, and he was not moving. When I finished I was told to do another transverse cut in the lower part of the body. Then we needed to make another cut in the upper part of the body. The doctor made the cut himself, because he noticed I was terrified and my hand was shaking. He told me, "Don't worry, I am here." Before he took the instrument – I don't feel good when I recall this scene – another quarrel broke out between the doctor and his son. The latter had forgotten the instruments for cutting the ribs. To move out as soon as possible of this uncomfortable situation I recalled that I had my Kalashnikov bayonet with me, which could do the work. To finish quickly and end this procedure, I turned my bayonet into a surgical instrument.

The doctor showed me where to cut the ribs. He put his hand in the ribs and told me, "Follow the sign of my hand and cut it. All you have to do is cut next to my hand." On the right side he said, "We will cut the

tissue at the part where the ribs and the rest of the body are joined." He was telling me all the time to be careful, to make sure not to damage it. The "it" was the heart, so I was careful. Then he moved to the other side of the table and put his hand deep in the chest. At that moment another doctor came over and told me, "We need to finish quick. We don't have much time." This doctor brought a box, which he put next to me. In it, for the first time I saw a human organ. I was horrified.

I will now explain why there were quarrels between the doctors. One of them had forgotten the tweezers, which stop the flow of blood from the veins and other blood vessels. We started using nylon threads instead, the type of nylon used for fishing. In three places we tied twice and stopped. We cut the veins, and when it was in my hands, the heart was still beating. We washed our hands and quickly opened the small handheld refrigerator. In the bottom of it there was a special place arranged specifically for this purpose. The doctor brought out a plastic box of the same type as the ones we used during my internship. Then we placed the box containing the heart, liquid and ice and closed with all kinds of threads, elastic and other threads, which I couldn't describe exactly, but the purpose being to prevent the box from overturning. After few minutes I was invited to go to a hall where my superiors were. One of the most famous KLA commanders told me, "Hats off to you! In Kosovo we need soldiers like you! This is exactly the way to triumph!" Then he ordered me to take the refrigerator with the heart and put it in a vehicle. "Put it in the Volvo," said he. It was a dark green colored Volvo. The driver opened the truck and told me to put the refrigerator on the left side, in an isolated corner close to the spare tire. After I put the refrigerator in I tied it well to keep it from moving during the trip.

You asked me earlier how and when I found out that the transplant was not intended for a high-ranking person in the organization. I believed that the heart was perhaps meant for some high-ranking person who had been sent to the military hospital and who had died

during his transfer. I thought the heart would be sent to Tirana, but that is not how it happened. We continued our journey to the Rinas airport, near Tirana. When we arrived there and the gate opened, we met Albanian uniformed soldiers. We saw a plane there. Someone came out of it, looking handsome with a nicely trimmed beard. He was not Albanian. The private plane had Turkish colors! Then I understood that this was about business and not for protecting the fatherland. It was the human organs trade! Big money! It had nothing to do with the ideals I was fighting for. Instead, it was something terrifying."[1]

After the testimony about the Albanian doctor, Pierre Péan asked the low-ranking KLA soldier a question. Péan wanted to know whether the testimony was actually something the soldier experienced, or was it, "A testimony fabricated by the Serbian secret services, as a number of the protagonists of the Albanian case claim?[2]

Pierre Péan commented on the testimony, declaring that he could not find the right words to describe this account that gives you shivers, particularly because this horror was perpetrated for money.[3]

Subsequently, Péan appeared to accept the testimony at face value, even though he suggested in the book that the reader must decide for himself. Pierre Péan's book may be of interest to researchers looking for an example of the way in which disinformation created by the Serbian secret services has been disseminated and the strategies by which a connection is made between the myth of the "Albanian mafia" and the genuine political ambitions of the Albanians of Kosovo. Finally, one does not have to read the entire book to see the absurdity of the witness's testimony. A young doctor who had completed a surgical internship would not likely be seeing a human organ for the first time, so his shock at the organ itself seems disingenuous. In the same way that the Serbian prosecution for war crimes insulted the intelligence of the citizens[4] of Serbia, Pierre

[1] Pierre Péan, cited article, Kosovo: une guerre "juste" pour un Etat mafieux p.9-13
[2] Ibid., p.13
[3] Ibid., p.13
[4] An expression of the Serbian journalist Tatjana Tagirov

Péan insulted the intelligence of his Francophone readers. Who among the readers would swallow a claim that a doctor who had completed a surgical internship saw a scalpel, a lance and other instruments used in operations for the first time during the events described in his testimony? Which reader would believe that a doctor, however shocked, could not tell whether a patient was alive or dead? What kind of doctor would claim that an extracted heart continued to beat?[1]

Moreover, even if readers believed that an operation this complex could be performed without anesthesia, surely they could not swallow the absurdity that initially the patient had his hands untied, and subsequently, two people were engaged to hold his legs from moving, which restraint was sufficient for the surgery. It is clear this fiction was necessary for the screenwriter of this "production" in order to create the dramatic scene where the patient writhes and kicks to escape from being cut to pieces.

The witness's claims about forgetting the tweezers and using nylon fishing threads to close the patient's blood vessels are equally ridiculous. A fisherman's nylon! Perhaps they were referring to the murky media waters created by Dick Marty's report. Moreover, it is absurd that the parties involved would take the time to close the blood vessels of a person whose heart had been removed, particularly, as the "protected witness" testified, since he was continually told by his superiors to hurry up because they didn't have much time.

Other unlikely details from this testimony include cutting the ribs with a Kalashnikov bayonet and the witness' assertion that cutting off the patient's blouse left him naked. It is possible that this typical Serbian expression could also have been used by an Albanian. Still, during the description of undressing the patient, the witness never mentioned any trousers, and from his testimony it would seem as if the mother of this patient gave birth to him with his trousers on.

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[1] Besides some stiffness that may arise during the first seconds that can not be defined as a heartbeat!

This testimony suggested that it is possible to recognize an airplane based on its colors and can tell whether it's a private plane. The testimony also said that the plane displayed Turkish colors. While the colors of the Turkish flag are red and white, so are the colors of the Swiss flag and many others. Indeed, characterizing the flag as Swiss might have lent some much-needed coherence to this witness's testimony since the Serbian Secret Service have accused Swiss authorities of donating their private para-military camps, shooting halls, and combat sports clubs to the needs of the KLA.[1]

In this context, the compilers of the testimony brought forward on behalf of their protected witness, did not find it reasonable to pass through Adriatic waters (toward Switzerland). Instead, they found it easier to head towards the Black Sea possibly searching for turbulent waters for fishing. The creator of this story needed to use the color of the Black Sea (contiguous with Turkey).

However, this is not the time to fish in turbulent waters. Those who wish to be informed without prejudice may do that. As Dick Marty warned, due to the great possibilities offered by the Internet, we have never been more likely to become victims of information poisoning.[2] Like an old Albanian proverb says, "One has a fly under his hat."

Those who wanted objective information could see that Serbian intellectuals were also moved to react. Earlier on I mentioned the case of the Serbian journalist Tatjana Tagirov, who described the television broadcast as, "A madness of the prosecution for war crimes."[3] This journalist was not the only one who reacted against this manipulation of public opinion. The renowned Serbian humanist Natasa Kandic, in an interview for Radio Free Europe, raised her doubts concerning the story of this "witness." To the director of the Humanitarian Law Center

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[1] French edition of the cited book *Le terrorisme au Kosovo*.... , p. 209, English edition p.204, and electronic edition in Serbian, p.9

[2] Réseau Voltaire, cited interview, *Dick Mary, L'indépendance du Kosovo n'a pas été décidée à Pristina*

[3] *Novosti*, cited article, *Budalaštine Tužilaštva za ratne zločine*

in Serbia the story seemed utterly implausible: worse than the cheapest of horror movies.[1]

There were also responses from lawyers like Dragoljub Todorovic and Djordze Dozet, who stressed that this manipulation of public opinion, in particular displaying the "protected witness" in front of cameras, represents a serious violation of legal procedures. Moreover, the Serbian prosecution for war crimes was not tasked to conduct investigations concerning this case.[2]

There were many comments from viewers about the witness's statements regarding the procedures of organ extraction for a transplant. Among their criticisms were the following: the surgery was performed by an inexperienced doctor whose surgical education was limited to an internship, while the veteran doctor only assisted the operation; there was no anesthesia; the young doctor used a bayonet as a surgical instrument; blood vessels were stitched with a nylon thread used for fishing.[3]

In the previous chapters I mentioned the engagement of the forensic medicine experts serving the regime of Milosevic. In contrast to the old regime, where pathologists and forensic medicine experts like Slavisa Dobricanin, Vujadin Otasevic, Dusan Dunjic, and Milos Tasic tried to conceal the crimes, the new Belgrade regime found a single medical expert, a surgeon, and used him to attribute the crime to the Albanians. To make the credibility of the statements of the "protected witness" more powerful, the screenwriters of the special TV show *The Anatomy of Crime* also interviewed the surgeon Dragos Stojanovic. In

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[1] *Radio Slobodna Evropa*, *Sumnje u uverljivost svedoka navodne trgovine organima* (Doubts about the veracity of the witness regarding the alleged organ trade) http://www.slobodnaevropa.org/content/sumnje-u-uverljivost-svedoka-navodne-trgovine-organima/24706268.html and http://www.hlc-rdc.org/?p=21038

[2] Cited article, *Sumnje u uverljivost svedoka navodne trgovine organima* http://www.slobodnaevropa.org/content/sumnje-u-uverljivost-svedoka-navodne-trgovine-organima/24706268.html and http://www.hlc-rdc.org/?p=21038

[3] *Slobodna Evropa*, *Sumnje u uverljivost svedoka navodne trgovine organima* (Doubts about the veracity of the witness regarding the alleged organ trade) http://www.slobodnaevropa.org/content/sumnje-u-uverljivost-svedoka-navodne-trgovine-organima/24706268.html and http://www.hlc-rdc.org/?p=21038

the introduction, the spokesperson from the station said that the aim of this interview was to get an opinion from a surgical expert in order to learn whether it was possible to extract organs in the way described by the "protected witness."

Dragos Stojanovic, who had watched the interview before it was aired on Radio Television of Serbia, declared from the position of a "renowned expert" that the description of the witness was reliable. He argued that in theory, the extraction of organs could have taken place in the manner described by the witness. "The placing of the heart in the refrigerator and the transportation seemed reliable and authentic." These are procedures, which of course are done in a specific way, so everything claimed in this testimony coincided with how a procedure like this is performed when done in accordance to sophisticated methods.[1]

Whether the extraction was performed in accordance to standard medical procedure, any surgeon would know that if the extracted heart from a patient is not transplanted immediately, or if it's not put in a special apparatus, which would keep it functional until the transplant, the heart will likely become unusable.

Even in Serbian medical circles there was amazement that it was possible for a physician to declare as trustworthy the version of the witness on how to extract a heart without anesthesia, by a surgery intern, with a bayonet.[2]

There were more responses to this interview, but for now I will leave these issues to the epilogue of this chapter. In the following epilogue I will clarify many aspects of the "anatomy of crime" attributed to the KLA.

[1] RTS, cited TV Show, Anatomija Zlocina
[2] Afore mentioned article Sumnje u uverljivost svedoka navodne trgovine organima

EPILOGUE TO CHAPTER TWO

The renowned Serbian vascular surgeon Goran Kronja, who at one time headed the organ transplant team in the military hospital academy in Belgrade, responded at length in an interview for Svedok,[1] regarding the sensational show on Radio Television of Serbia entitled The Anatomy of Crime.

I will bring to the reader exerpts from the statement of this surgeon because it represents proof that the primordial logic of the "old" regime in Belgrade, meant to fabricate crimes and stigmatize the Albanians, is a logic that has been continued by the new regime. It is a logic, which is not easily swallowed, even by Serbian intellectuals.

The foolishness of the Serbian prosecution for war crimes[2]

"The stories on human organ trafficking in Kosovo are idiocy. Where is the material evidence? What is suspected to have occurred in Kosovo and Metohija and Albania is a cadaver transplant.[3] In this aspect, the only logical thing is that the organ was extracted from a living person and who was then left to die. In my opinion, if this was true then this activity is monstrous and this crime would be the worst crime in the 20th century. However if something like this has not occurred then the thought itself is monstrous. The brain that conceived something like this while relying on unverified and unreliable indicators is also monstrous.

I am convinced that in Kosovo there was no organ extraction. I am convinced that this story has no ground. It possible that there have been crimes committed, it is possible that the kidnap victims have had organs removed, it is possible that they have been chopped to pieces, but not for use as transplant material. We know that people do trade in human

[1] E-Novine, cited article, Svedočenje o vađenju organa je budalaština

[2] Title of the Serbian newspaper Novosti, Budalaštine Tužilaštva za ratne zločine, No. 666, http://www.novossti.com/2012/09/budalastine-tuzilastva-za-ratne-zlocine/

[3] When the organ for transplant is extracted from a dead person.

organs. However, that is another issue. In order to trade any organ, several rigorous and complicated medical criteria must be met. The organ cannot be extracted in just any room and from a living person. It is absurd! Allegations of this witness about extracting the heart from a living person in order to sell it later are just stupid, and I am surprised that the prosecution of war crimes has considered such a thing as being true. A heart extracted in the way as described by the witness is useless. There is no surgeon who would transplant an organ without knowing its origin and without preliminary medical tests of the donor. People, the time of survival of the heart from the moment of cessation of heartbeat until the transplant is 12 hours maximum. This is a logical detail, which is essential to the claims that organ trafficking, the yellow house, and so on, occurred in Northern Albania. At that time, to go from Kukes and Burrel, the alleged site of the yellow house, to Tirana, the closest airport, required at least ten hours of travel with a good SUV because the roads were extremely bad. And I'm not even speaking of the conditions required for sterilization.

The prosecutor for war crimes, Vladimir Vukcevic, claims that before making this testimony public they have consulted many medical experts in order to confirm whether it is possible to perform an intervention in the way described by the witness. This intervention, when the only important thing is to remove the organ and package it in a safe way should not be confused with the organ transplant method. Of course an action like this, which was described easily by the prosecutor as a "surgical intervention", may occur as easily as a living person may be jabbed with a pole. However, the "safe packaging" is something else. From the witness's story it turns out that we are not dealing with "safe packaging." This is clear even to every attentive TV spectator or newspaper reader and many medical experts who have been consulted by the prosecution for war crimes."

The war crimes prosecutor, Vladimir Vukcevic, speaks of the alleged respect of medical procedures. What are the medical procedures and the

"safe packaging" he speaks of? Who are these many medical experts who were consulted to show us how it is possible to open someone's chest with a Kalashnikov bayonet? With a bayonet, which is designed to cut barbed wire, one can do more harm to the heart than extracting it for transplant. Moreover, this can be done only in a dead person's body and not a living person; who would normally move, tremble and scream. Damage to the heart could occur even by using the most sophisticated surgical instruments with an unskillful hand, let alone by using a bayonet.

It seems that the prosecution for war crimes had gone astray. Moreover, this was not their first time.

"The organ to be explanted[1] *needs to be extracted in a way so as not to be damaged physically or biochemically. The extracted organ is cleaned adequately, filled with preservatives and inserted into a sterilized container filled with ice. Even operating with the container must be done through sterilization. At the same time that the extraction process is also performed the process of acceptance from the recipient, i.e. the recipient of the organ. The kidney must be transplanted within 24 hours, whereas the liver within ten hours. During the time I worked at the military hospital academy we had "inserted" the kidney within 45 minutes to an hour. In cases when we are dealing with a cadaveric transplant the conservation process of the organ starts from the time while still inside the body. Initially, cannulas are inserted through which preservatives are administered and the organ is cooled down. Another relevant technical problem is to the process for ensuring sufficient sterilized ice. Ensuring sterilized ice was a problem for the military hospital academy, let alone a house such as described by the witness. In a single transplant 30kg to 40kg of sterilized ice were used. Thus, for extracting organs we need to have sterilized conditions, good laboratory support and very expensive tools. Until recently in Serbia, which is much better equipped than Kosovo, only the military hospital academy in Blegrade had a laboratory*

[1] Extracted

for preparing the necessary tools. I think that there were no human organ extractions in Kosovo. I am convinced that this story is unsustainable.
The claims of the prosecution for war crimes are at best, frivolous, but more likely are politically motivated in order to provide a sensational context for a legal case, which has not been successful to this date.
The thing that is incomprehensible has to do with the fact that none of my surgeon colleagues felt the need to get up and publicly show the lack of logic and clear medical contradictions arising from this story. There are numerous surgeons who would have been able to do such a thing.
I have asked some of them in regards to this. They told me in private that the remarks are correct and that there is something wrong here. However, they did not want to speak publicly. Perhaps it has something to do with politics."[1]
The remarks of this renowned Serbian surgeon, who had performed over 200 organ transplants, speak for themselves. Regarding his dilemma about whether the silence of the other surgeons in Serbia is related to politics, I think that Goran Kronja has not read the article by Serbian journalist Miroslav Filipovic, The long march towards the truth about crimes.[2] *The reader may recall that Miroslav Filipovic suffered heavy consequences from the Belgrade regime because he raised his voice against Serbian crimes in Kosovo. In view of expressing a surprise from the Serbian surgeon Goran Kronja about why other surgeons did not react to the stupidities about human organs trafficking I will present the criticism of Miroslav Filipovic 13 ago about the behavior of the intellectuals, cultural, religious and academic institutions of Serbia who had accepted to serve the Milosevic regime, "It is difficult to find a national institution that has*

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[1] Svedok, Ekskluzivno: Prof. dr Goran Kronja, Sumnjam da su otetim Srbima na Kosovu, nelegalno uzimani (i prodavani) organi (I suspect that organ from Kosovo Serbs were extracted and sold in illegal ways)
http://www.svedok.rs/index.asp?show=75508
Vreme, Miloš Vasić, Kasapljenje i medicina (The slaughter and medicine)
http://www.vreme.com/cms/view.php?id=1075917

[2] Republika, Miroslav Filipović, cited article, Dugi marš ka istini o zlocinima
http://www.yurope.com/zines/republika/arhiva/2001/263/263_16.html

tried to save the Serbian nation from committing crimes. It is specifically difficult to find institutions, which have not encouraged the Serbian people in committing crimes. Where has the Academy of Science been? Where has the church been? Where have the universities been? Where have the political parties been? What happened to the church that announced they would open the files about the crimes in Kosovo? What happened to the announcement that the church, on behalf of the Serbian nation, would repent and ask for forgiveness from the victims?

In the West Milosevic was long ago named 'The Balkan Butcher.' He was compared to Hitler. But Germany before the Second World War cannot be compared to Serbia at the beginning of the nineties. When Hitler began to go off track and behave like a raging animal, many eminent German intellectuals, scientists, and artists abandoned him. Though some artists, scientists and intellectuals abandoned Milosevic's Serbia, the majority of them served his regime. They did this despite knowing that through his orders, his approval, or at least with his knowledge, every day hundreds of innocent people suffered from a 'Serbian hand.' Now, to ask of these people to speak for the committed crimes would mean to request of them to admit their guilt."

Miroslav Filipovic,
The long march towards the truth about crimes, p.27-28

CHAPTER THREE

PROLOGUE TO CHAPTER THREE

Five years after the Serbian secret service via the *White Book* accused the KLA of human organ trafficking, and as many years since Carla Del Ponte discontinued the investigation into these allegations for lack of evidence, her book *The Hunt: Me and the War Criminals* fired up propaganda accusing the KLA of monstrous crimes.

The publication of Carla Del Ponte's book came just when the debate about the legality of Kosovo's declaration of independence was in the spotlight. This incendiary work gave the opponents of Kosovo's independence another reason to point their finger at former members of the KLA who were leading the newly created country. From the date of the publication of this book until July 22, 2010, when the International Court of Justice had to reach a decision about the declaration of independence, the opposition used every opportunity to stigmatize the KLA as a terrorist and criminal organization. The renewed allegation of human organ trafficking was an important part of the arsenal aimed at harming the image of Kosovo.

Even after this court reached the decision that the declaration of independence of Kosovo did not violate either general international law or Resolution 1244 of the Security Council, the Constitutional Framework of Kosovo, or any other applicable rule of the international law,[1] propaganda about the alleged human organ trafficking continued with the same intensity.

By this time supposedly all the propaganda sources were exhausted, but in the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe, Dick Marty initiated the discussion of his prepared report about the inhumane treatment of persons and the illegal human organ trafficking in Kosovo.

[1] Ibid., paragraph 122

Marty's report was requested at the insistence of Serbian and Russian parties within the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe.[1]

The adoption of this report by the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe in 2011, had extremely damaging effects on Kosovo's image. In accordance with the adoption of this report by the general assembly, in September, 2011 the European Union formed a Special Investigative Task Force which was authorized to investigate the veracity of Dick Marty's accusations.

The reopening of the investigation served as an argument to focus the attention of the public on the claims of the report of "Horrible crimes against Serbian civilians."

After more than six years of propaganda about human organ trafficking, the chief prosecutor of the Special Investigative Task Force, Clint Williamson, announced the results of the investigation at a press conference held in Brussels on July 29th, 2014.

During this conference chief prosecutor Williamson explained that The Special Investigative Task Force (SITF) carried out thorough investigations on the claims of Dick Marty's Report. During two and a half years of this investigation hundreds of witnesses were questioned in European countries and elsewhere. Thousands of pages were reviewed, documents were compiled from many organizations and individuals engaged in Kosovo during the time of our investigation. But even after that time, prosecutors, investigators, legal officers, analysts, and other specialists from 18 countries of the EU, Canada and the United States of America have worked in shocking circumstances to carry out this investigation. The government of Serbia has done everything in their power to assist us in this process. In particular the chief prosecutor for war crimes Vladimir Vukcvevic, together with his team, has helped us enormously.[2]

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[1] Conseil de l'Europe, Assamblée Parlementaire, cited document, doc. 11574, April 15th, 2008.

[2] Statement of the Chief Prosecutor of the Special Investigative Task force, 29 july 2014 http://www.sitf.eu/images/Statement/Statement_of_the_Chief_Prosecutor_of_the_SITF_EN.pdf http://www.sitf.eu/images/Statement/Statement_of_the_Chief_Prosecutor_of_the_SITF_ALB.pdf

Chief prosecutor Williamson continued: The work of SITF was rather challenging. We are considering the events that occurred approximately 15 years before for which only few or no material evidence exists. Many of the witnesses whom we believe had information related to our investigation have passed away or are so much drained out that they are not able to give testimonies. Also, some potential witnesses, identified by SITF have not been interviewed because their current whereabouts could not be detected. As regards the part of the report that has drawn the majority's attention due to its sensational nature, and which is related to the allegations of murders for the purpose of extracting and trafficking human organs, we have come to the conclusion that in order to pursue such criminal acts, we need to have a level of evidence that we have not yet secured. However, this does not imply that this evidence will not materialize, and we will surely continue to search for it. Hence, in no way have we rejected the veracity of these claims. However, I still don't feel that there is sufficiently strong evidence to come to the conclusion that we may raise indictments in regard to this matter.[1]

Despite assistance from all four corners of the world, help from prosecutors, investigators, legal officers, analysts and specialists from 18 countries of the EU, Canada and the United States of America, the SITF was not able to find sufficient evidence to raise an indictment for murders with the purpose of extracting and trafficking human organs. Based on their investigations, Chief Prosecutor Williamson considered that "The claims of some people, that implied that hundreds of people were killed with the purpose of human organs trafficking, are totally unfounded."[2] However, he believed that a practice like this might have occurred on a very limited scale and that only a small number of people have been murdered for the purpose of extracting and trafficking their organs.[3]

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[1] Ibid.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.

Therefore, relying in his "convictions," in spite of the absence of proof, the lack of witnesses or any other testimony, the Chief Prosecutor still did not rule out the veracity of the claims of human organ trafficking and would continue to search for evidence of these crimes.

Every person has the right to express his own opinion. However, when a prosecutor who was put in charge of investigating a case as controversial as the charge of human organ trafficking decided not to close this case in spite of the lack of any supporting evidence whatsoever, it was perfectly clear that this act blurred the boundaries between the field of justice and the field of political propaganda. Williamson's use of the term "convictions" reveals his willingness to "convict" the KLA without a trial.

It is worth noting that chief prosecutor Clint Williamson expressed his particular gratitude to Vladimir Vukcevic who was the main operational interlocutor during Williamson's talks with the Serbian Government. It was Serbia's chief prosecutor for war crimes who found the former KLA soldier whose dubious testimony related that he had removed the heart of a Serbian youngster with a Kalashnikov bayonet and then transported it from northern Albania to Rinas Airport. He was the same Vladimir Vukcevic who, three days prior to the TV broadcast of the "interview" with this protected witness, declared that he would accept feedback from the investigative team led by Clint Williamson. Also, this is the same person about whom the Serbian journalist Tatjana Tagirov declared, "He is mocking the intelligence of the citizens of Serbia by providing testimony to create the impression that such crimes were committed by the KLA."

In the previous chapter the reader also had the opportunity to see that the renowned Serbian surgeon Goran Kronja described that the testimony provided by the Prosecution for War Crimes of Serbia as, "Stupidities of the Serbian Prosecution for War Crimes." I do not know to what extent these stupidities of the Serbian Prosecution for War Crimes influenced Clint Williamson to believe that such a horrible crime might

have occurred. However, keeping a case open when no proof had been found after 15 years of investigation from the time when the legend of human organ trafficking by the KLA was first invented, was an obvious attempt to keep the "stupidities" fabricated by Belgrade alive.

Without evidence, witnesses, or anything that that would have enabled the chief prosecutor to prepare an indictment against KLA members for human organ trafficking, Williamson led the Special Investigation Task Force in a different direction, hoping it would be more successful. During a press conference, William explained.

Although it was not our main responsibility, we considered it as our essential duty to do everything in our power in order to ascertain the fate of the people who went missing in 1998 and 1999, as well as the whereabouts of the disappeared. Unfortunately, until now we have found only a little information which would lead us to the places where the bodies were buried or which would reveal the fate of those who went missing. Despite the difficulties of providing evidence, we believe that the SITF will be able to raise an indictment against certain high officials of the former Kosovo Liberation Army. These individuals bear the responsibility for the campaign of persecution directed towards the Serbian, Roma and other ethnicities in Kosovo, as well as against Albanian compatriots of Kosovo during 1998 and 1999 who were labeled as Serbian collaborators. They are also responsible for acts of persecution which involved murders, kidnappings, forced disappearances, illegal arrests in camps in Kosovo and Albania, sexual violence, other forms of inhumane treatment, forced displacement and more."[1]

I hope that the reader sees that the position revealed in this press conference is no different from the propaganda that was continuously distributed by the Belgrade regime stigmatizing the KLA. This campaign to discredit the KLA has been discussed throughout this book. The same issue is addressed here because it is the main pillar

[1] Cited declaration of the chief prosecutor of the Special Investigation Task Force http://www.sitf.eu/images/Statement/Statement_of_the_Chief_Prosecutor_of_the_SITF_EN.pdf

around which the entire strategy of stigmatizing the liberation struggle of the Albanian people of Kosovo revolved.

The Killing, Kidnapping and Disappearance of Civilians in the Kosovo War

Many analyses and reports have proven that during armed conflicts, especially since the Second World War, the majority of victims are civilians in the countries where these conflicts take place. For this reason, outbreaks of armed conflicts mobilize regional and international institutions, as well as thousands of nongovernmental organizations for the protection of human rights. These organizations do not just appeal for the cessation of hostilities; they also send special demands to the parties in conflict to respect the Geneva Convention for the protection of civilians during wartime.

This happened during the wars that took place during the break-up of the Yugoslav Federation. The aggression of the Yugoslav army against Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina mobilized international public opinion and important institutions in international relations against the genocidal policies planned and implemented by the Belgrade regime. Since these aggressions were commanded from Belgrade, the main responsibility was attributed to Slobodan Milosevic and other structures of the government controlled by him.

Wishing to avoid opprobrium from international institutions and the media, the strategic headquarters of Milosevic applied a "new" strategy in the War in Kosovo.

Despite the fact that nobody denied that civilians were being murdered in Kosovo, this new strategy raised questions about who these civilians were and who was murdering them.

It was not until the end of the war that these monstrous crimes against civilians in Kosovo were discovered. Earlier in the book, the declarations of Ratomir Tanic were discussed. Tanic, as the representative of the political party "New Democracy," was a member

of the Serbian team during the negotiations with Kosovo. At that time, Tanic openly stated that he had a very negative attitude towards the Albanians because they did damage to the national interests of Serbia[1] and because the KLA was a terrorist organization. Regardless, in an exclusive interview for *Radio Free Europe*[2] he expressed discontent about the strategy applied by the Milosevic regime.

To isolate terrorism is a totally different issue from killing women and children. Our security forces didn't fight a war against terrorists. They fought the war against the civilian population. This is how the ethnic conflict of March 1998 began.[3] *Milosevic and Sainovic*[4] *acted in a way that the war against terrorism was turned into a war against the Albanian civilians and villages. The goal of this strategy was to expel these people from Kosovo, to take their identification documents and to erase them from the civil status register. Later on, in case the expelled civilians had to be returned, we would claim that these are not from Kosovo, but from Albania.*[5]

The policy of ethnic cleansing and genocide in Kosovo was discussed in some of the previous chapters of the book. In this chapter I will focus only in terms of the crimes committed by the Serbian secret service and their shifting the blame for these crimes onto the KLA in order to stigmatize it as a terrorist organization. Serbian intellectuals joined Tanic in denouncing the policy of committing crimes against the civilian population. Earlier in this book I discussed the fate of Serbian journalist, Miroslav Filipovic. Filipovic raised his voice against the crimes of Serbia in Kosovo and denounced the practice that Serbian

[1] The trial against Milosevic, testimony of Ratomir Tanic, session of May 16th 2002, p. 755

[2] *Radio Europe Libre,* Ratomir Tanić: "Oui, il existait un plan de nettoyage ethnique du Kosovo", 7 mars 2001
https://docs.google.com/document/d/1lBGqdCw5E9tFjZlQpn96ohv7UlnKXl3DNkCOECzEV2M/edit?pli=1

[3] Ibid.

[4] Nikola Sainovic, former president of R. Serbia and the vice president of the government of Yugoslav Federation. In February 26th, 2009 was sentenced by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia to 22 years imprisonment for being accountable for war crimes against Albanians in Kosovo.

[5] Vreme, Miloš Vasić, Privatni nihilizam i ideološke fikcije (The Privat nihilism and ideological fictions) http://www.vreme.com/cms/view.php?id=323038

squadrons attacked Serbs in and their properties in Kosovo and then accused the Albanians in order to incite inter-ethnic tensions.[1] For this, Miroslav Filipovic was sentenced to seven years in prison.

The sentence of the Serbian journalist who publicly repudiated Serbian crimes committed in Kosovo had the effect of imposing silence on those who were aware of these crimes. Despite the supposed changes in Serbia after the fall of Milosevic, the silence on the crimes and the concealment of evidence persisted until a short while ago. Fifteen years after the genocide in Kosovo, individuals from the political scene in Serbia finally revealed the logic, the structures, the operation, and the objectives of the strategic headquarters of Milosevic. In December, 2013, Aleksandar Vucic, who at the time was Deputy Prime Minister and is currently the Prime Minister of Serbia, publicly declared on the TV show *Teška reč* of TV Pink that, "In Serbia the government is killing both, those who think differently and its opponents. This is a horrible problem for our country. There are many terrible things which we need to deal with."[2]

During this TV show, the Serbian Prime Minister mentioned the case of the six people killed at the Panda Bar in Peja, in 1998. He dismissed the allegations addressed against the Albanians and accused the Belgrade regime of this crime. It is interesting that Aleksandar Vucic admitted he had been a part of that government, but denied being involved in such crimes.[3]

Aleksandar Vucic's statement formed a new context in Serbia. In addition to the testimonies of public individuals from the Serbian political scene, there were also testimonies of people who had taken part in the crimes committed in Kosovo.[4]

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1 Republika, Ogledi, No. 263, cited article cituar, Miroslav Filipovic, *Dugi marš ka istini o zlocinima*

2 Radijo-Televizija Srbije, *Vučić: Država je ubila Ćuruviju* (The state killed Churuvija-n), 29.12.2013 http://www.rts.rs/page/stories/sr/story/9/Politika/1482926/Vu%C4%8Di%C4%87%3A+Dr%C5%BEava+je+ubila+%C4%86uruviju.html

3 For more see Chapter Two of Part One of the book

4 In the epilogue of Chapter One I presented the public testimony of the Serbian police officer, Slobodan Stojanovic

These statements and testimonies revealed a small part of the many horrible things[1] this regime had done.

I will only mention the reaction of Vuk Draskovic, head of the Serbian Renewal Movement, known as a political opponent of Milosevic. I will remind those who may have forgotten that this Serbian politician was appointed Deputy Prime Minister of Yugoslavia on January 18, 1999, when an international outcry occurred as a result of the crimes against humanity committed in Recak[2] and the subsequent reaction had reached its peak resulting in demands for military intervention against Serbia.[3] He was put in charge of managing foreign affairs and served this position until April 29, 1999. At this time Vuk Draskovic was removed because of his public criticism against the government and his insistence on accepting conditions for a cessation of bombing. [4]

In an interview entitled *Milosevic Ordered Radeta and Legia to Kill Serbian Children,*[5] Vuk Draskovic strongly supported Aleksandar Vucic. During this interview, the former Deputy Prime Minister of Yugoslavia, Vuk Draskovic, revealed the organization, functioning, and decision making for crimes aiming at provoking hatred against Albanians and to stigmatize the KLA to the public. He explained that "Milosevic and his strategic headquarters had made a decision to commit a series of crimes against Serbian and Albanian civilians in Kosovo."[6]

Killing Serbian civilians made it more credible to attribute the crimes to Albanian "terrorists" than the killing of Albanian civilians

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1 Expression used by Aleksandar Vucic

2 Finished in January 15th , 1999. See Chapter Three of Part One of the book

3 This topic was thoroughly discussed in Chapter Three of Part One of the book

4 *Le monde*, *Vuk Draskovic nommé vice-premier ministre de la RFY*, (Vuk Draskovic was appointed deputy prime minister), 20.01.1999
http://www.lemonde.fr/archives/article/1999/01/20/vuk-draskovic-nomme-vice-premier-ministre-de-la-rfy_3532258_1819218.html
and *Les Echos*, *Le vice-Premier ministre Vuk Draskovic limogé du gouvernement yougoslave* (The deputy prime minister discharged from the Yugoslav government), 29.04.1999
http://www.lesechos.fr/29/04/1999/LesEchos/17889-024-ECH_le-vice-premier-ministre-vuk-draskovic-limoge-du-gouvernement-yougoslave.htm

5 *Kurir*, cited article, *Vuk Drašković: Milošević naredio Radetu i Legiji da ubiju srpsku decu*!

6 *Kurir*, cited article, *Rade Marković dao nalog da se ubiju srpska deca u Peći 1998*?!

would have. For this reason, the killing of Albanian civilians was always accompanied by the explanation that the victims were Albanians who were loyal to the Belgrade regime.

The leader of the "death squad," Draskovic's term for the group that committed these crimes, was Milorad Ulemek-Legija, head of the unit for Special Operations.[1] Legija, the name this criminal is known by, took his orders from Radomir Markovic, then chief of the State Security Service of Serbia.[2]

In addition to the publication of facts that pointed to the strategic headquarters of Milosevic for making the decision to murder Serbian and Albanian civilians and revealed names in the operational chain of command of the Death Squad, Draskovic also revealed the goal of these criminal acts. "Through a series of terrorist attacks executed by the State Security Service intended to be blamed on the KLA, two goals would be achieved: the KLA would be presented to the international community as a terrorist organization and the killing of innocent civilians would stimulate anti-Albanian feelings in Kosovo and throughout Serbia,"[3] explained Vuk Draskovic. To illustrate Milosevic's double strategy through a concrete example, Vuk Draskovic told his interviewer that Serbian state security, headed by Radomir Markovic with the assistance of Milorad Ulemek-Legija on December 14, 1998, committed the massacre of six young Serbian boys at the Panda Bar in Peja.[4] This crime was then blamed on the Albanians.

Accusing the KLA of this and other crimes mobilized the Serbian people against "Albanian Terrorism," exacerbating inter-ethnic tensions. Simultaneously, the KLA was stigmatized as a "terrorist" organization. Milosevic's strategists were aware that without engaging

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1 In Serbian JSO (Jedinica za specialne operacije)

2 The chief of the Serbian Secret Service, Radomir Markovic and the chief of the death squadron, Milorad Ulemek-Legija were sentenced by the district court of Belgrade to 40 years imprisonment for ordering many killings in Serbia and for committing murders. The 40-year sentence is a maximum sentence foreseen with the Criminal Code of Serbia.

3 Cited article Milosevic ordered Radeta abd Legia to kill Serbian children (Vuk Drašković: Milošević naredio Radetu i Legiji da ubiju srpsku decu!)

4 Ibid.

a number of intellectuals from Western democratic countries in the process of disseminating the notions fabricated by the regime, the effect would be very small. Therefore, the materials prepared by the Serbian Secret Service were translated into several foreign languages and were disseminated for free as the *White Book*.

Historians and political scientists, philosophers and sociologists, journalists and publicists from both right and left of center sponsored the stories prepared by the Serbian secret service and spread the Serbian version of the events in Kosovo. These stories about the murder of civilians by the KLA were analyzed throughout the book, and several of the more significant cases will be revisited in the conclusion.

Since the show trial of the Klecka Case[1] when Milosevic and his followers disseminated the story that hundreds of Serbians, Albanian civilians who were loyal to Serbia, and people from other ethnic groups in Kosovo were killed by the KLA and then burned in the famous "Limestone Crematorium." The Serbian forces used mechanisms of violence to force Albanians to admit to crimes they had not committed. Albanians were tortured into confessing that they were KLA soldiers and had killed innocent civilians. This was the regime's way of securing evidence proving that the KLA was a terrorist organization.

During the trial of the Mazreku brothers in the district court of Nish, it was revealed that bones exposed by the investigative judge Danica Marinkovic were not the bones of Serbs as was claimed, but the bones of unidentified civilians. The Mazreku brothers were found guilty, but the removal of Milosevic from power created a favorable context to reconsider this case at a higher level. The Serbian Supreme Court quashed the decision by which the district court in Nis had sentenced Luan and Bekim Mazreku to 20 years in prison, and acquitted the two brothers.

Although they could not identify the persons whose bones Milosevic had displayed as the "Residue from the Albanian Auschwitz," the

[1] Discussed in details in Chapter One of the Book

remnants of Milosevic's regime continued to claim that they were civilians killed by the KLA.[1]

The same thing happened after the murder of the six young Serbs and Montenegrins in Peja.[2]

Serbian forces installed an environment of terror in the city of Peja in December 1998 and tortured more than 100 Albanians in their search for the "perpetrators." Eventually, they set up a show trial to prove that the KLA was a terrorist organization. Twenty year-old Gazmend Bajrami, 19 year-old Vllaznim Pergjegjaj, 21 year-old Xhevdet Bajrami, 27 year-old Beqir Loxhaj, 26 year-old Agron Kollcaku and 18 year-old Behar Bajri were among the victims. Everyone present in the hall where the hearing against these six Albanians was held could see traces of the medieval torture applied to these men in order to force them to admit to crimes that they did not commit.

Eleven months after their arrest, the district court of Leskovac dropped the charge of killing six young Serbs and Montenegrins, and sentenced the men to a year in prison for the murder of many policemen.[3]

KLA "terrorists" who had killed many policemen were sentenced only to a year in jail.

This decision of the district court of Leskovac proved in the clearest way possible that this was a staged show trial aiming at the stigmatization of the KLA. What court anywhere in the world would sentence members of a terrorist organization who had murdered policemen to only a year in prison?

Belgrade's stigmatization of the KLA as a terrorist organization that killed innocent civilians also had its effect in certain international circles in spite of what ought to have been serious doubts about its veracity. The French writer and philosopher, Regis Debray is one such example. Different aspects of his article published as *A Letter of a Traveler to the*

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[1] Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, cited article, Terrorist acts of Albanian terrorist groups in Kosovo and Metohija, p.925

[2] The case is anaylized in details in Chapter Two

[3] Judicial ruling K.br 41/99 from 09.11.1999

President[1] were analyzed earlier in this book. In this context I will return to the issue of the consequences caused by Serbian aggression in Kosovo and the dissemination of disinformation about it by Regis Debray.

The consequences of the war itself were many. The Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms in Kosovo published data on the killing of 2,500 Albanian civilians in the Serb offensives of 1998 alone. However, in the majority of reports from international organizations for the protection of human rights and freedoms this number was reduced to around 2,000 Albanian civilians.[2]

Regis Debray also did not question the number of victims, but he interpreted the massacre in a different way. Claiming to be "unbiased," Debray parroted Belgrade's version of what happened to the Albanians in Kosovo. While he agreed with the number of victims reported by international organizations, he declared in his open letter to the President of France that, "In 1998 people who were killed numbered 1,700 Albanian soldiers, 180 policemen and 120 Serbian soldiers." The number of approximately 2,000 Albanian civilians killed by Serbian forces was converted by Debray into exactly 2,000 killed who were members of armed forces of both sides. Not only did he reduce the number of the Albanians who were killed to 1,700 from 2,000, he also claimed that among these 1,700 people, not even one was an Albanian civilian who was killed by Serbian armed forces. Debray's letter revealed his pro-Serbian bias and reiterated Belgrade's strategy of extreme stigmatization of the Albanians, equating every Albanian to a terrorist. The consequences of Debray's rhetoric were ominous: every dead Albanian equals one less terrorist.

Regis Debray argued openly that it was wrong for NATO to intervene against Serbia because blame for civilian deaths did not lie with Belgrade, but among the Albanians in the streets, cafeterias, and shops of Prishtina. He claimed that Albanians had attacked him very fiercely

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[1] Le monde, Régis Debray, cited article, *Lettre d'un voyageur au président de la République*

[2] This aspect was anaylized in details in Part One of the Book.

on one or two occasions, and that it was the Serbian forces that saved him from their threats.[1] According to this logic, the people in the streets, cafeterias and shops of Prishtina who had supposedly attacked him could not be considered civilians. If there were killed and wounded civilians, they had been killed and wounded by the KLA or in the NATO bombings. Moreover, the latter according to Debray, is an organization that is bent upon the military and political subjugation of Western Europe to the United States of America.[2]

In addition to minimizing the number of the murdered Albanian civilians, Regis Debray also used statistics to manipulate his reader about the consequences to Serbian civilians of the war in Kosovo.

Claiming to have obtained the information from "opponents" of the Belgrade regime, from a journalist of Serbian origin with "pro-western" views, and from a Western journalist with anti-Serb views, Regis Debray spread the story fabricated by Belgrade that, "The KLA had kidnapped 380 persons of whom 103 were released and the others had died or were considered missing."[3]

Only Regis Debray knew the truth about his source for the lie that the KLA kidnapped 380 civilians. This story exceeded even the official propaganda of the strategic headquarters of Milosevic. Four months before Regis Debray's visit to Macedonia, Kosovo and Serbia, and before he had met the "reliable" sources of the information that the KLA had kidnapped 380 persons,[4] the propaganda machine of the Milosevic regime had published the book entitled *The Crimes of the Albanian Terrorists 1995-1998*.[5]

To further Milosevic's strategy, this book published lists of murdered or kidnapped civilians, and blamed "the KLA Albanian terrorists."

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[1] Ibid.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Cited letter
[4] Cited letter
[5] Cited book, *Злочини албанских терориста 1995-1998, Приштина*, Janary 1999, p. 241

At this point, it is important to revisit certain statistical data. No matter how exhausting to read they may be, I consider them necessary because the explanation of these data helps to reveal part of the reality of the war in Kosovo. In particular, these data will enable the readers to better understand what lies behind the accusations of killing civilians directed at the KLA.

The lie is appreciated more than the truth:
almost everyone is ready to believe it.
Paul Léautaud

Compared to earlier propaganda about the killing of hundreds of Serbian and Montenegrin civilians, in the book *The Crimes of the Albanian Terrorists 1995-1998,* the number of the murdered civilians was decreased significantly. According to these lists, 32 of the murdered civilians were ethnically Serbian and Montenegrin,[1] 65 of them were Albanian,[2] and 8 belonged to other ethnic groups.[3] Also, the number of those missing or considered kidnapped by the KLA was decreased compared to the Belgrade's earlier statements, which had reported this number as 380 Serbian and Montenegrin civilians. The list of the kidnapped and missing persons contained 153 Serbian civilians,[4] 59 Albanians[5] and 19 members of other ethnic groups.[6]

If we were to sum up the numbers of all the lists published by the Serbian Secret Service of all the crimes that they blamed on the KLA and Albanian terrorists from 1995 until the end of 1998, the total sum would still be smaller than the number published by Regis Debray: some 380 persons kidnapped by the KLA.

Debray's anti-American fanaticism blinded him to the reality of

[1] Ibid., p.113-114
[2] Ibid., p.115-118
[3] Ibid., p.119
[4] Ibid., p.120-126
[5] Ibid., p.127-129
[6] Ibid., p.130

the war in Kosovo, and as a result, the propaganda he disseminated about the 380 civilians kidnapped by the KLA during 1998 alone, was even more extreme than the Serbian extremists of Milosevic's strategic headquarters.

The *White Book* of the Serbian Secret Service published and disseminated in March 2000, some 9 months after the end of the war, contained the lists of murdered, kidnapped and missing civilians whose misfortunes were attributed to the KLA. In this edition, which covers the time from January 1, 1998 until June 10, 1999, the day that Serbia considered to be the end of the war, the official number of Serbs who were missing or had been kidnapped by the KLA became even smaller. Compared to the previous edition, the 2000 edition decreased this number to exactly, "One hundred Serbian and Montenegrin civilians who were kidnapped or missing."[1]

In the final list of kidnapped or missing civilians, the Serbian Secret Service of the time of Milosevic mentioned the names of 11 persons whose age was unknown to them, although it was known they were kidnapped by the KLA terrorists and gone missing.

To make this "terrorist act" of the Albanians seem more tragic, in the list of "abducted" persons they mentioned elderly people who were unable to defend themselves. This list includes the names of 80-year-old Miroslav Shmigic, 76-year-old Sultana Shmigic, 75-year-old Aleksandar Shmigic, 74-year-old Jovan Vasic, 70-year-old Vitko Kostic, 69-year-old Stajko Andjelkovic, 69-year-old Darinka Vujosevic, 69-year-old Dragoljub Voshtic, 68-year-old Zivorad Krstic, 67-year-old Radomir Vostic, and so on. An interesting fact is that from January 1, 1998, through June 10, 1999, in the General Register offices in the municipalities of Decani, Peja, Rahovec, Skenderaj and Drenas, there was not a single deceased Serb who was registered as having died from natural causes. These municipalities were where the intensity of the war was greatest.

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[1] Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, cited book, *Terrorist acts of Albanian terrorist groups in Kosovo and Metohija*, p.960-967

I have my doubts regarding this coincidence, but whether these reports are credible is for the reader to decide.

The number of the kidnapped and missing persons from members of other ethnic groups was also reduced in the 2000 edition of the *White Book*. From the 19 persons published in January 1999, the number decreased to 12 in the 2000 edition. Only the number of Albanian civilians was increased, going from 59 published in the edition of January 1999 to 77 persons in the 2000 edition.

Also, the names of the people who were killed, kidnapped or missing were not missing from the *White Book*. Members of the Serbian military who were supposedly killed, kidnapped, or went missing by KLA terrorists were also listed.

Initially, in the list of the kidnapped and missing persons, Milosevic's Secret Service also mentioned 14 policemen[1] from the Ministry of Interior Affairs of Serbia who were "Kidnapped by Albanian terrorists and went missing." In addition to the listing of the 14 members of the Ministry of Interior Affairs of Serbia as kidnapped or missing, 274 members of this ministry were also listed, said to be killed in terrorist actions by the Albanian separatists.[2] In addition, there was a list of 40 Yugoslav Army soldiers[3] who were killed, kidnapped or missing during the period from January 1, 1998 to March 24, 1999.

Out of 40 soldiers whose names were published in this list, 34 were killed before November 13, 1998, according to the *White Book*. In this new edition of the list, only six soldiers of the Yugoslav Army were killed before the beginning of NATO's bombing campaign. The list of 120 soldiers from the Yugoslav Army killed during 1998, which had been handed to Regis Debray, disappeared.

I hope that after this chapter it will be clear that the motive for concealing the names of the policemen and soldiers killed during the

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[1] P. 973-974
[2] P. 932-956
[3] P. 978-981

fighting with the KLA was aimed at minimizing the loss of Serbian police and military forces in combat so that these losses could be attributed to NATO. The end of the war and the fall of Slobodan Milosevic from power created conditions for the new government in Belgrade to clear up these issues from the period during the war. Unfortunately, the power structures in the government remained essentially the same and acted in the same way. Operating from the same mindset as during the old regime, the Serbian Secret Service prepared a new edition of the *White Book* that discussed the "crimes of the Albanian terrorists," and on behalf of the new government of Serbia, in November 2001, also published a volume entitled, *The Victims of the Albanian Terrorism in Kosovo and Metohija*.[1]

According to the statements of Nebojsa Covic, a former Communist from the Milosevic regime who converted to democracy after being expelled from Slobodan Milosevic's inner circle, the goal of this and future editions published under the auspices of the new government was to provide UNMIK, KFOR, and anyone else who was interested, with information on the structure of the Albanian extremist terrorist organization, about their victims, and about Albanian mafia activity world-wide. This information would help define the standards for equal treatment of terrorism in all areas and strengthen the fight against terrorism not only in the region, but also throughout Europe.[2]

Unlike the *White Books* that were published during the period of Milosevic's reign in 1998, 1999 and 2000, the data included in the 2001 edition were completely changed from the three earlier editions.

Instead of 75 Serbian and Montenegrins killed, published as official numbers nine months after the end of the war, this number was increased to 87 persons for the same period in the 2001 edition. The number of the Albanian civilians who were killed was also increased from 196 to 230,

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[1] Vlada Republike Srbije, *Žrtve albanskog terorizma na Kosovu i Metohiji* (Ubijena, oteta i nestala lica, januar 1998 - novembar 2001 http://www.arhiva.srbija.gov.rs/vesti/2002-05/25/326656.html

[2] Cited article, Albanski terorizam i organizovani kriminal na Kosovo i Metohiji

and that of members of other ethnic groups was increased from 15 to 18 persons killed.[1]

Inconsistency in numbers is not the only thing that implies a certain lack of seriousness in the preparation of these lists; there are also inconsistencies in the names included from one list to the other. Vukosava Vulosevic and Slavko Skrkic were removed from the lists of the Serbian civilians who were killed, and 14 new names were added. The same thing happened with the list of the kidnapped and missing. In just one example, the members of the Ministry of Interior Affairs of Serbia who are listed as kidnapped or missing is different in the two editions. In the list published in 2000, there were 14 policemen considered kidnapped or missing, whereas in the 2001 edition, this number was reduced to 13. Besides this change, the names of the policemen Dusko Dolasevic, Djordje Balosevic and Boban Matic appeared in the 2000 list. These were removed in the 2001 edition, and three new names were added: Velko Markovic, Dragan Vucetic and Nebojsa Djuritic.

Even more outrageous are the changes related to the lists of members of this ministry who were killed. In the edition of March, 2000 the Milosevic regime published the names of 274 policemen killed in terrorist actions by the Albanian separatists[2] while in the 2001 edition this number was reduced[3] to 230. Further on we will see whether the 44 policemen who the government claimed were killed by the KLA were resurrected, and where the names of the policemen Dusko Dolasevic, Djordje Balosevic and Boban Matic went. For the time being I will focus on the differences in the lists of the names of people who are believed to have been killed, kidnapped or gone missing. I will proceed with a discussion of the manipulation of the numbers Yugoslav Army soldiers killed during fights with the KLA. As

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[1] See table at: Vlada Republike Srbije, cited book, Žrtve albanskog terorizma na Kosovu i Metohiji http://www.arhiva.srbija.gov.rs/vesti/2002-05/25/326656.html

[2] Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, cited book, Terrorist acts of Albanian terrorist groups in Kosovo and Metohija, p. 932-956

[3] Cited book, Žrtve albanskog terorizma na Kosovu i Metohiji p.105-133

was discussed earlier, the Belgrade regime tried to hide the number of Yugoslav Army soldiers who were killed fighting with the KLA. In the 2000 edition, the Belgrade regime tried to hide the maximum consequences of the fighting with the KLA, saying that only 40 soldiers had been killed prior to the NATO military intervention. In the edition of 2001, the Serbian government published the names of 351 soldiers who were killed and 30 soldiers who were kidnapped or gone missing during the fighting with the "Albanian terrorists."[1] The explanation given at the end of this list said that the list of this edition did not include the members of the Yugoslav Army who had lost their lives from the NATO bombing.[2]

To correct the minimization of the number of Serbian soldiers and policemen who were killed by the KLA, the new government admitted that around 600-700 members of the Ministry of Interior Affairs and the Yugoslav Army were killed. It is interesting to note that in neither of the editions of the *White Books* not even one name of a killed, wounded, kidnapped or missing person who was a member of the paramilitary groups was described as dressed in civilian clothes. Failing to publish the names of paramilitary personnel, the worst class of criminals, in the *White Book* is very significant because it opens the way to clarifying the fact that unlike earlier editions published by the Serbian government during the Milosevic regime, the new edition listed 709 killed Serbs and Montenegrins and 1,002 missing civilians from June 11, 1999 until November 1, 2001.[3]

Belgrade's propaganda about the killings, kidnappings and missing Serbian, Montenegrin and Albanian civilians and others after the withdrawal of Serbian forces from Kosovo and the deployment of KFOR will be discussed later. For now, we will take a look at the list of civilians said to have been killed by the KLA up to June 10, 1999.

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[1] Ibid., list of the killed soldiers in p. 65-104, list of kidnapped or missing soldiers p.253-256
[2] Vlada Republike Srbije, cited article, Žrtve albanskog terorizma na Kosovu i Metohiji, p.65
[3] See table at: Vlada Republike Srbije, cited book, Žrtve albanskog terorizma na Kosovu i Metohiji

As you can see, the data were changing from one edition of the *White Book* to the other. In the later editions, the number of casualties increased compared to the number in the 1999 edition. The 1999 edition listed 32 Serbian and Montenegrin civilians said to have been killed by the KLA during the period from 1995-1998. In the 2000 edition, the casualties were increased to 75, and in the 2001 edition, the number went up to 87. In other words, as the need to vilify the KLA increased, Belgrade propaganda increased the number of Serbians and Montenegrins who were victims of the KLA in each successive edition of the *White Book*. The number of Albanian victims of the KLA increased in even greater proportions. The number of Albanian civilians, purportedly killed because they were friendly to the Belgrade regime, was 65 in the 1999 edition, increased to 196 in the 2000 edition, and to 230 in the 2001 edition. Finally, among other ethnic groups, the casualty list was 8 civilians in the 1999 edition, which increased to 15 in the 2000 edition, and to 18 in the 2001 edition. All of these numbers refer to the same period of time. Along with the names of the 286 civilian dead from all ethnic groups in Kosovo, the 2000 edition also mentioned gravesites where the bodies of more than 100 civilians were found. The identity of the people found in the gravesite was not made clear, but the authors were adamant that they were victims of Albanian terrorists.[1] In other works, they did not know who had been killed, but they knew who had killed them.

The *White Book* claims that although the identity of the 100 dead civilians was unknown, they "knew" that these were victims of the KLA. I hope that by the end of this chapter it will be clear who killed them. For now, I will focus on the few names that were mentioned in the *White Book*, because the strategic use of victims' names proved to be the most successful way of spreading the lie that the civilians in these lists were killed by the KLA.

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[1] Ibid., p.925

Few readers from outside Serbia or Kosovo would recognize the names of Ivan Radevic, Ivan Obradovic, Dragan Trifovic, Vukota Gvozdenovic, Svetislav Ristic and Zoran Stanojevic who are numbers 36-41 on the list of the Serbian civilians[1] said to have been killed by the KLA.[2] Likely even people who have read Chapter 2 of Part 1 of this book have forgotten the names of the six Serbian and Montenegrin youths, murdered by the Serbian secret service at Panda Bar in Peja.

The murder of these six young men, ordered by the Serbian secret service, is only a small part of what the Squadron of Death did in order to present the KLA as a terrorist organization before the international community and to trigger anti-Albanian feelings in Kosovo and in the whole of Serbia.[3]

The truth of what happened at Panda Bar was finally revealed by the former chief of Serbian Security Service, Radomir Markovic in hope of reducing his sentence of 40 years imprisonment. Furthermore, the refusal of the Serbian authorities to reduce the sentence of Radomir Markovic led to the threat that accompanied his request for a pardon addressed to the president of Serbia, Tomislav Nikolic. Marcovic warned that he "Would bring Serbia to her knees if he were to publish a list of the crimes committed against Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo."[4]

It is interesting that at the same time that the Serbian intelligentsia and individuals from the highest political and state structures of the country denounced the crimes against Serbian and Albanian civilians in Kosovo, Milosevic's forces were committing these crimes in order to implicate the KLA. The regime used Serbian witnesses who participated in these crimes to testify that the Albanians had ordered them. This was still going on at the time when former chief of the Serbian Secret Service Radomir Markovic threatened to publish the list of crimes committed

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1 Ibid., p.906

2 The distinction between Serbian and Albanian names is well known in Europe. Thus, a Serbian name on a list of civilian casualties list, implies an Albanian culprit.

3 *Kurir*, cited article, *Vuk Drašković: Milošević naredio Radetu i Legiji da ubiju srpsku decu!*

4 Cited article from newspaper *Kurir*, *Rade Marković dao nalog …*

against Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo, bringing Serbia "to her knees." Most cynically, those engaged in sponsoring the accusations fabricated by the Serbian Secret Service continued to trumpet that these crimes have been committed by the KLA. However paradoxical this may seem to us, such a confession is completely logical given their ideological blindness. The disappearance of corpses was part of the Belgrade's strategy to get rid of evidence of their crimes, which created even greater trauma to people whose relatives were put in the category of the "missing."

In the previous three chapters we discussed this strategy thoroughly, including the motives of those who denied the existence of these crimes. Despite the evidence that emerged about Milosevic's policy of genocide in Kosovo and Belgrade's efforts to hide these crimes, despite the fact that many individuals who participated in these crimes testified on the horrors experienced by the Albanians, there are still people who continue to deny or minimize this painful reality. Furthermore, the chief of the Department of Public Safety within the MIA of the Republic of Serbia, General Vlastimir Djordzevic, sentenced by International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia to 27 years in prison for crimes committed in Kosovo, gave a public apology to Albanians for the crimes committed against them and for the fact that he never opposed to the strategy for concealing these crimes.[1] In spite of that, the writers mentioned throughout my book, who acted as mouthpieces for Belgrade, continue to insist to this day that the disappearance of the bodies of Albanian civilians was a NATO-fabricated lie.

It is disheartening to see that when the Serbs themselves began to admit to the crimes committed by the Milosevic regime, Dick Marty became the most dangerous of all the proponents of the lies that stigmatized the KLA for being responsible for civilian casualties in Kosovo. He magnified the fabrications compiled by the Serbian Secret

[1] See more at: *Kurir*, *Priznao krivicu: Vlastimir Đorđević se izvinio žrtvama na Kosovu*, (Admitted guil: Vlastimir Djordjevic apologized to the victims of Kosovo) http://www.kurir-info.rs/priznao-krivicu-vlastimir-dordevic-se-izvinio-zrtvama-na-kosovu-clanak-787765

Service against the KLA leaders into an indictment of all Albanians.

In addition to his libelous statements about the KLA in this report, which were analyzed in the previous chapter, Dick Marty made other serious accusations about the missing persons during the Kosovo war.

In paragraph 12 of his report, Dick Marty presented the issue of the missing persons as an urgent humanitarian matter. However, the content of this paragraph reveals that Dick Marty's main objective was not human rights, but rather, he raised this issue in order to manipulate political opinion against the Albanians.

He stated that out of 6,005 open files of missing persons compiled by the Red Cross, approximately 1,400 persons were found alive and another 2,500 bodies were found and identified. Most of the remains were identified as Kosovo Albanians.[1]

The chapter on the genocide in Kosovo discussed Belgrade's manipulations of the number of the dead and missing in detail, but Dick Marty returned to this issue in a new way. He did not deny that the majority of the remains were Kosovo Albanians. However, through his indefinite use of the word "majority," Dick Marty tried to create the impression that the number of the "others" is large.

In addition to the number of dead, Dick Marty also misled his readers about the fate of the 1,869 missing persons from the conflict, about which nothing was known at the time of his report. He stated that two-thirds of the missing were of Albanian origin,[2] suggesting that a third of this number, which constitutes some 600 persons, were Serbs and members of other ethnic groups.

Dick Marty's estimate varied widely from the final numbers published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Serbia in the *White Book* of 2000. The official numbers of missing Serbian civilians in 2000 was not 600 as Marty claimed, but 100 Serbians and 12 members of other ethnic groups. In 2001, the number published by the government of

[1] Dick Marty's Report, paragraph 12
[2] Ibid, same paragraph

Serbia was 155 missing Serbs and Montenegrins. The discrepancy in his numbers from even those of the Serbian government clearly reveals Marty's attempt to manipulate public opinion through statistics without regard to their accuracy.

Dick Marty, who likes to claim that he relied on intelligence services of different countries, nevertheless used every opportunity to express his gratitude to the authorities of Serbia for their help in compiling his reports. However, this time he set aside the numbers of the Government of Serbia. In this case he preferred to rely on the claims of the Red Cross and the Office for Missing Persons and Forensics. Even though Marty set aside the Serbian government's numbers in favor of those of the Red Cross, he found a special place in his report for the propaganda of the new Serbian authorities regarding the murdered and missing persons after the deployment of KFOR troops in Kosovo. Despite the fact that he was compelled to mention that his source, the Office for Missing Persons and Forensics, had some reservations[1] about the number of missing persons after June 12, 1999, Dick Marty insisted that 470 persons, out of whom 95 were Albanians and 375 non-Albanians, mostly Serbs, had gone missing after this date.[2]

Furthermore, Marty claimed that many of Albanians who went missing during the war were "vanished" by the KLA after the end of the war. To argue such a position, in paragraph 13 of his report, Dick Marty stated that "When we speak about the missing, it is important to stress that many of the Kosovo Albanian families who had lost their close ones after June 12, 1999 declared an earlier date of disappearance, fearing that their close ones may be regarded as 'traitors' punished by the KLA." According to Marty, the fear he attributes to the families of the missing persons is not their only motive. Marty claimed that Albanian families of the missing also sought "material benefits" and altered the dates of their disappearance to that end. According to Marty, the Kosovo law on

[1] Ibid., note 10 end of page
[2] Ibid., paragraph 12

compensation for the families of the "martyrs" did not include persons who were killed after the deployment of KFOR in Kosovo,[1] so the families of the missing persons hid the real murderers for material profit. Marty added his vilification of the Albanians to the defamatory claims of Xavier Raufer that the Albanians performed a show with the bodies of the murdered people, sold their children into prostitution, and kidnapped their cousins to employ them as prostitutes just to earn a few franks.[2] Dick Marty made the accusation that bereaved Albanian families engaged in "The concealment of the killers of their family members in order to profit materially." A perverted idea of this magnitude is not promulgated because Dick Marty does not know the Albanians, but in order to acquit Serbia of the crimes in Kosovo and in particular to stigmatize those KLA leaders who rose to power thanks to the support of the USA and other Western powers.[3]

The arrogance of Dick Marty went way beyond this. To hide the real criminals and blame the KLA for these crimes he presented the conjectures born of his anti-Albanian and anti-American prejudices as an indisputable reality. Furthermore, in order to divert attention from Serbian culpability for these war crimes, Dick Marty accused the authorities in Kosovo and Albania of refusing to cooperate in the investigation of the fate of the missing Serbs and Albanians who he claimed were victims of the KLA.[4] To Dick Marty, the refusal of the authorities of Albania and Kosovo to endorse his fabrication was a suspicious sign of their lack of political will to reveal the full truth about these events.[5]

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1 Ibid., paragraph 13
2 Topic discussed in Chapter Seven
3 Dick Marty's Report, among other paragraph 60
4 Ibid., paragraph 14
5 Ibid.

The Full Truth About These Events

Which "full truth" does Dick Marty want to reveal? The full truth of these events is already known: the killing of the civilians in Kosovo was planned at the strategic headquarters of Slobodan Milosevic in order to stigmatize the KLA as a terrorist organization. Only those who are interested in keeping Milosevic's propaganda alive would try to silence the fact that the majority of cases that appeared in the Serbian official list were confirmed to have been committed by the "death squadron" commanded by the chief of the Serbian Secret Service.

If he were interested in finding the "full truth," Dick Marty would have shown some interest in finding out what happened to 44 of the policemen who appeared in the list of the 274 policemen killed by the KLA in the 2000 edition of the *White Book*, and disappeared from the same list in 2001. Were these men "resurrected" because they were found alive? Is that why they disappeared from the casualty list of policemen in 2001? Or if they were not discovered to be alive, why were the names of the Dusko Dolasevic, Djordje Balosevic, and Boban Matic removed from the list of the kidnapped and missing policemen?

If Dick Marty had tried to find out the truth, he would have discovered that the killed policemen who were removed from the list were not "resurrected," but were transferred to the list of the deceased or missing "civilians" who were victims of the KLA.

While it may be tedious to analyze the details of these lists from one edition of the *White Book* to another, it is through these details that one may uncover the complicated strategies of the Serbian governments, both old and new, to simultaneously cover up war crimes and to demonize the KLA. If Dick Marty had only looked more carefully at the lists, he would have discovered that:

– **Milan Jovanovic** appears 5th on the 2000 edition list[1] of the

[1] Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, cited book, *Terrorist acts of Albanian terrorist groups in Kosovo and Metohija*, p.932

murdered policemen; in the 2001 edition he appears in the list of civilians kidnapped after the KFOR deployment in Kosovo. Also, this person appears twice as kidnapped. He is listed 334th as having been kidnapped on June 18, 1999 in the village of Babush near Ferizaj, and 335th on the list as having been kidnapped on June 22, 1999 in Ferizaj.[1]

- The policeman **Srecko Majanovic**, according to the 2000 edition, was listed 48th as wounded on August 1, 1998, and transferred to the Hospital Military Academy in Belgrade where he died on August 4, 1998. In the 2001 edition, he appears 44th on the list of killed civilians.
- The policeman **Zoran Vasiljevic** who is 81st on the list of killed policemen in the *White Book* of 2000,[2] appears 84th on the list of kidnapped or missing civilians published in 2001 after the deployment of the KFOR forces in Kosovo
- The policeman **Srdjan Stojkovic**, who in the edition of 2000 appears 269th on the list[3] of the killed policemen, in the edition of 2001 appears 872nd on the list of the kidnapped or missing civilians after the deployment of KFOR forces in Kosovo;
- The policeman **Predrag Mitic**, killed in May 15, 1999, is listed 234th in the 2000 edition. In the 2001 edition he appears 353rd and is declared to be a murdered civilian who dies on an unspecified date after the deployment of the KFOR forces in Kosovo;
- The policeman **Djordje Ristic** is listed 235th in the edition of 2000 and was declared killed on May 15, 1999, whereas in the 2001 edition, he is 493rd on the list of the murdered civilians, on an unspecified date after the deployment of the KFOR forces in Kosovo;
- The policeman **Vasilije Stankovic**, is listed 233rd in the edition of 2000, and declared killed on May 15, 1999 whereas in the 2001 edition, he is 562nd on the list of the murdered civilians, on an unspecified date after the deployment of the KFOR forces in Kosovo;

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[1] Cited book, *Žrtve albanskog terorizma na Kosovu i Metohiji*, p. 289

[2] Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, cited book, *Terrorist acts of Albanian terrorist groups in Kosovo and Metohija*, p.932

[3] Terrorist acts of Albanian terrorist groups in Kosovo and Metohija, p.932

I could continue presenting information on the fate of policemen **Sladjan Milosavljevic**, **Predrag Milosavlevic**, **Ljubisa Mitrovic**, **Nebojsa Jeftic**, **Dragan Stankovic** and many other policemen who were removed from the military casualty lists by the Serbian MOI employees and were transferred to the list of civilians who were killed or disappeared by the KLA. I could present details on the fate of the policemen who in the 2000 edition appeared on the list of kidnapped or missing policemen, then in the 2001 edition were transferred to the list of killed civilians after the deployment of KFOR forces in Kosovo: Djordje Balosevic was 13th on this list, Dusko Dolasevic was 49th, and Boban Matic was 94th. The conclusion is the same: manipulating the lists to manipulate public opinion.

Moving the names of the killed and missing policemen from their original placement on the list of Serbian forces to the list of the killed civilians constitutes only a small part of how these lists were falsified. How many policemen whose names were never published came from Serbian cities to fight in Kosovo and were killed fighting with the KLA? How many of their deaths were registered in the list of the killed or missing civilians?

What can be said about the governmental authorities of Serbia who did not hesitate to transfer the names of the dead policemen who were part of the Serbian forces to the category of dead civilians? When there was no reluctance to do such things, the reader can only imagine what happened to the policemen whose names were unknown.

Exactly how many soldiers of the Yugoslav Army were killed in Kosovo and then concealed by Milosevic's regime in order to blame NATO for their deaths? The number of the soldiers who were killed in combat, whose names were published in the two earlier editions of the *White Book*, increased by 341 in the 2001 edition, in order to blame their deaths on NATO. If Dick Marty had read the published lists of the civilians killed, kidnapped or missing, he would have understood that there was something wrong with the highest state authorities

publishing files with incomplete data about their citizens. He would have at least asked about person number 31 on the list of those killed after the deployment of KFOR forces in Kosovo. Listed under this number is only the last name (Bjelic).[1] The only thing known about him is that he was from Vojvodina and was killed in June 13, 1999 in Kosovo. Vojvodina is around 400 kilometers to the north of Kosovo next to the borders of Serbia, Hungary, and Croatia. What was this person named Bjelic doing in Kosovo, one day after the end of the war? Did he have any family members who would have reported his disappearance and at least informed the Serbian authorities of his full name? If they had, they would have saved the Serbian State from looking ridiculous by pretending that two and a half years after this person had been killed, they still had not discovered his name.

Who are the people listed under number 34 and 35? They are only listed as the Bogdanovic spouses.

Number 46 on the list of civilians is a person whose origin, age, and full name are unknown. Only his last name is known (Bukumirovic). The note with his listing said that he was killed together with the policeman Milorad Bulatovic.[1] Anyone who read the data about this murdered "civilian" might think to check whether there are additional data about the policeman Milorad Bulatovic, but they would find nothing further. There are no additional data because the policeman Milorad Bulatovic is not listed with his colleagues on the police force. Milorad Bulativic appears only on the list of the murdered civilians and would only be counted as one of them.

The same thing occurs in the case of Vujinovic, who is listed 73rd, and like Bukumirovec, his full name is unknown.[2] There are many others who are also listed only by their surnames: number 92, Vucic;[3]

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[1] Cited book, Žrtve albanskog terorizma na Kosovu i Metohiji, p.141
[2] Ibid., p.145
[3] Ibid., p.147

Zlatkovic;[1] Jovanovic;[2] Kizic;[3] Marusic;[4] Pesic;[5] Rajicic;[6] and Stojanovic.[7] Other persons whose full names are unknown include Bosk,[8] Zhivko,[9] Zoran,[10] Ivica,[11] father's name Velimir, Ilija,[12] and Stoja.[13] In these cases, the last names are not included on the list.

Numbers 703 – 709 on the list refer to seven persons whose first and last names are unknown. Scores of people are listed whose names are not known. Nevertheless, they are labeled as civilians who were killed by the KLA after the deployment of KFOR forces in Kosovo.

The same thing occurs on the list of kidnapped or missing persons after the deployment of KFOR forces in Kosovo: people with unknown names, were listed as kidnapped or disappeared by the KLA.

Throughout the war in Kosovo, the Belgrade authorities never admitted that criminal units known by the names "Skorpioni," "Sakali," "Tigrovi," "Zute Ose," "Knindze," "Crvene Beretke," and others were under the control of the government. These were the "paramilitary" units that committed some of the most horrifying crimes. The description of these as "paramilitary" was an attempt to conceal their connections with government forces and the official military.

Readers who can access the Internet can watch an 80 second video[14] to see a joint operation of governmental and "paramilitary" forces in the destruction of Kosovo. The first chapter concerning the genocide established that these units were operating together under the command of the Serbian state. This video delivers images of the members of the

[1] Ibid., p.156
[2] Ibid., p.161
[3] Ibid., p. 162
[4] Ibid., p.167
[5] Ibid., p. 179
[6] Ibid., p. 182
[7] Ibid., p.193
[8] Ibid., p.201
[9] Ibid., p.202
[10] Ibid., p.202
[11] Ibid., p.202
[12] Ibid., p.202
[13] Ibid., p.202
[14] (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k7gEMEnp00E)

Serbian forces with or without uniforms, looting and burning Albanian villages.

In spite of this video and other evidence to the contrary, Serbia never admitted to having these paramilitary units under their direction. They also avoided publishing the casualties that these units suffered in combat with the KLA. For this reason, in the official publications of the Serbian government, the category "paramilitaries who were killed, kidnapped or gone missing" does not exist. However, a question arises in regard to them: in which of the lists did the killed or missing paramilitaries during the war in Kosovo appear?

How many of these are persons whose name or last name was not known? How many of the casualties were paramilitaries dressed in civilian clothes? How many of those who are on the list of the missing were paramilitaries? Who is listed by the names Dika, Daniela, Dejan, Ilia, Momo, Slavisa and Slobodan on page 349 whose last names are unknown? Still, it is "known" that these are innocent civilians, and the KLA is responsible for their disappearance.

Since paramilitaries could not appear on the list of the members of the Ministry of Interior Affairs or the list of the Yugoslav Army without damaging Serbia's "plausible deniability," then the only category left for these members of the Serbian forces is to be included on the lists of the murdered, kidnapped or missing civilians who were victims of the KLA.

Serbia's failure to publish all the names of policemen and soldiers who were killed fighting the KLA, the transfer of policemen from the list of members of the Ministry of Interior Affairs to the list of civilians killed after the deployment of KFOR forces in Kosovo, and the disappearance of the missing paramilitaries from the lists enabled Serbia's new government to claim that there were 709 murdered civilians and 1,002 civilians who were kidnapped or missing after the end of the war and after the deployment of KFOR forces in Kosovo.[1] Of course, we know that they were not civilians.

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[1] Cited book, *Žrtve albanskog terorizma na Kosovu i Metohiji*, see table at: http://www.arhiva.srbija.gov.rs/vesti/2002-05/25/326656.html

There is case after case of this kind of manipulation, but the essence remains the same: The Serbian government presented members of police, army, and paramilitary and other forces as "civilian victims." One last case of this nature brings home this point.

On November 6, 1998, the Serbian media announced that, "On this day at 11:00 AM in the village of Dubrava in the municipality of Rahovec, a territory controlled by KLA terrorists, two Serbs had gone missing: Ilija Vujosevic and Dejan Djetlov."[1] On November 9th, photos of their bodies appeared in the media.

After much speculation in the Serbian media regarding the identity of the two murdered Serbs in civilian clothes whose photo appeared in the *White Book* editions of January 1999, 2000 and 2001, the Serbian Secret Service admitted that they were employees of the Secretariat of Internal Affairs of Prishtina who were killed during "humanitarian" work. They had been supplying units of the Serbian police who were fighting Albanian terrorists with food.[2]

It is unclear how many people read the announcement stating that these were not civilians, but members of the police force in Prishtina, killed about 60 km away from their workplace, in Rahovec Municipality. What is certain is that the dissemination of these photos in the Serbian media was part of another propaganda story that helped to create the opinion that the KLA was killing civilians. In addition to the falsification of the lists of members of the Ministry of Interior Affairs, the Yugoslav Army, paramilitaries, and civilians of Serbian, Montenegrin and of other ethnic origins, there was an additional strategy of the Serbian government to account for murdered Albanian civilians.

The previous examples establish the fact that the political strategists of the Milosevic regime and of his successors changed the times and dates of the deaths of Serbian policemen, soldiers, and paramilitaries

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[1] Cited book, Злочини албанских терориста 1995-1998, Приштина, January 1999, p. 174-177

[2] *Злочини албанских терориста 1995-1998*, p. 174-175 and Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, cited book, *Terrorist acts of Albanian terrorist groups in Kosovo and Metohija*, p.559

so that they appeared to have died after rather than in the war. Belgrade strategists also transferred these military casualties to the lists of the civilians killed after the end of the war. This tactic hid the fact that the casualties were Serbian forces killed in combat. Instead, the government could claim that the bodies belonged to dead civilians killed after the war by vengeful members of the KLA.

Dick Marty tried to cast the blame for these deaths on the Albanians of Kosovo. Without relying on any evidence, he shamelessly invented stories about Albanians hiding the murders of their relatives in order to gain compensation by claiming that they were killed during the war. Dick Marty's fictions notwithstanding, if we look at the list of the Albanian civilians whose deaths were attributed to the "terrorists" of the KLA by the Milosevic regime and its successors and sponsors, we will see that this is not the case.

For instance, Fehmi Agani was a professor at the University of Prishtina and one of the most prominent sociologists in the old Yugoslav Federation and an influential public intellectual. After leaving the one-party system in Yugoslavia, together with Ibrahim Rugova, he founded the Democratic League of Kosovo (DLK) and became the vice president of this political party. Along with his engagement in the political scene in Kosovo, he distinguished himself internationally by his efforts to protect Kosovo's interests. In addition, Fehmi Agani represented the Kosovo Albanian delegation from the first negotiations with Serbia in the early nineties all the way to the Rambouillet Conference. Although the truth of his assassination is well known, the remnants of the Milosevic regime and the sponsors of the Serbian Secret Service's fabrications, continued to attribute these killings to KLA terrorists. The Serbian police arrested Fehmi Agani on May 6, 1999 in the presence of his family and many other citizens. In order to avoid presenting this murder as organized by the state, immediately after the assassination of Fehmi Agani the district court in Pristina, still controlled by the Milosevic regime, filed charges against Serbian policemen Predrag Nikolic and Zoran Dzeletovic.

The case was entrusted to the investigative judge Danica Marinkovic who is known to the reader from many earlier cases she handled. This was the same judge involved in the show trial against the Mazreku brothers; the same judge entrusted to "clarify" that there were no civilians murdered in Recak, only supposed KLA soldiers;[1] the same judge that dealt with many cases where she had to confirm that the claims of Serbian officials were "true."

Danica Marinkovic's position on Agani's assassination was reminiscent of her other cases: the blame was on the Albanians. This judge released the Serbian policemen, Predrag Nikolic and Zoran Dzeletovic on the grounds that "they did their jobs honestly."[2]

Whether or not the Serbian policemen had done their jobs "honestly" is clear from the remarks of renowned Serbian humanist, Natasa Kandic. In her article entitled "The Disturbing Truth,"[3] she said that on the same day when they murdered Fehmi Agani, on May 6, 1999, the same policemen killed five members of the Blakqori family who were traveling on the railroad from Fushe to Lipjan: 50-year-old Miradije, 60-year-old Fehmi, 14-year-old Labinot, 56-year-old Mehmet, and his 50-year-old wife, Sabile. Criminal charges for these murders were also filed against Predrag Nikolic, Zoran Dzeletovic and one other police officer from the station in Fushe Kosova who had also been charged with the assassination of Fehmi Again. After they were charged, all the documents relating to the case were transferred to Serbia or destroyed.[4]

Danica Marinkovic cleared the Serbian police officers of this crime with the same honesty that they had committed it. High officials of the Serbian Secret Service, in the 2003 edition of the *White Book*[5] on page 22, attributed the killing of Fehmi Agani to the KLA.

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[1] Topic discussed in Chapter Three of Part One of the book.
[2] Natasa Kandic, cited article, *Uznemiravajuca istina*
[3] The article cited above
[4] Ibid.
[5] Vlada Srbije: cited book, *Albanski terorizam i organizovani kriminal na Kosovu i Metohiji*, p.22

Exactly what "full truth" are Dick Marty and the other followers of the Serbian Secret Service trying to discover? The truth of Danica Marinkovic or the fact that the perpetrators of these horrible crimes were Serbian police officers Predrag Nikolic and Zoran Dzeletovic, who never served a day in prison.

Indeed, Dick Marty and his cohorts do not care about the truth or the murders of Fehmi Agani and the Blakqori family. Had Dick Marty and his cronies been interested in knowing the full facts of the case, they could have learned about the murder of the renowned Albanian lawyer from Kosovo, Bajram Kelmendi and his two sons, 18-year-old Kushtrim, and 31-year-old Kastriot. All they had to do was look at the information from the Serbian organizations for the protection of human rights to learn the full truth: Bajram Kelmendi, who was suspected of handing over evidence of Serbian crimes in Kosovo to the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, was brutalized in front of his sons. The mistreatment soon extended to them, and then the Serbian police told Kastriot to kiss his children farewell.[1] The three were executed on March 24, 1999.

Dick Marty and his colleagues did not want to know this truth. They were only nterested in the "truth" of Danica Marinkovic who described these criminals from the Serbian police as employees who had done their job in an honest and humane manner. Is she saying that because they allowed Kastriot to kiss his children before they killed him?

Listing Bajram Kelmendi and his two sons Kastriot and Kushtrim as numbers 237, 238 and 239 on the list of the murdered civilians that the Serbian Secret Service attributed to the KLA is done with the expectation that the most of those who read the English or French editions of the *White Books*[2] *would not know who these persons were.*

Although their names appear at the end of the list, I mentioned them in the beginning in order for the reader to better understand the context

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[1] E-Novine, *Ciljana ubistva, uklanjanje tela, silovanja* http://www.e-novine.com/srbija/srbija-tema/84243-Ciljana-ubistva-uklanjanje-tela-silovanja.html

[2] Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, cited book, *Terrorist acts of Albanian terrorist groups in Kosovo and Metohija*,, p. 921-922

of Serbian humanist Natasa Kandic's story that follows. In her article, "The Disturbing Truth," the director of the Humanitarian Law Center in Serbia describes the difficult circumstances that she encountered in Kosovo: During the NATO bombing, when I used to stay in Kosovo, I was most afraid of the Serbian police, paramilitary formations, and the Serbian defenders like judge Danica Marinkovic. In the silence that reigned in Serbia and Kosovo, anyone who would attempt to help Albanians would be declared an enemy, a spy, and a traitor. On May 27, 1999, the day the indictment against Milosevic was announced, the police stopped me at the Lipjan[1] checkpoint. I was heading to Prizren driving the wife and child of the chief editor of newspaper *Koha Ditore*. My driver was kept away from us by threatening to kill him like every other person who speaks English. When I told them where I was going, and the reasons why, they started to yell at me, calling me a spy and a traitor. They threatened to accuse me of spying. They scared me by telling me that I would be swallowed by the darkness and declared that I have been lost in the territory of the KLA. I told them they can take me, as they did with the Albanians, but I was not going to keep silent about what was going on in Kosovo.[2] I told them, "You have killed Fehmi Agani, you have killed Bajram Kelmendi and his children, and you have killed peasants, women and children.[3]

Fortunately, Natasa Kandic is still alive and survived this potential execution. Otherwise, she might easily have appeared on the list of the civilians murdered by the KLA. Moreover, had that happened, it is likely that Danica Marinkovic, would have determined that the killers were "Albanian terrorists."

If Natasa Kandic had been "swallowed by the darkness" and disappeared in the territory of the KLA, the reader can only imagine the

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[1] City in Kosovo

[2] Nataša Kandić, cited article, *Uznemiravajuca istina* (The Disturbing Truth)

[3] *Danas*, *Sada sam neka druga, meni draža osoba* (Now I am a different person, more beloved) http://www.danas.rs/dodaci/vikend/sada_sam_neka_druga_meni_draza_osoba.26.html?news_id=255622#sthash.7b6AU8qo.dpuf

writings of Dick Marty, Carla Del Ponte, Christophe Châtelot, Renaud Girard, Regis Debray, Bo Adami, Jürgen Elsässer, Patrick Barriot, John Laughland, Serge Halimi, Jean-Marie Lepen, Dominique Vidal, Bernard Lugan, Dominique Venner, Philippe Conrad, Jean-Arnauld Derens, Pierre Péan, Xavier Raufer and all those who, in the service of their anti-American ideological paradigm, engaged in sponsoring Belgrade's stigmatization of the KLA.

As I said, fortunately, she is alive. It is fortunate, not only because another name would have been added to the list of the civilians murdered by the KLA, not only because she and the Humanitarian Law Center that she managed have contributed immensely to revealing some of what happened in this part of Europe, but also simply because an innocent person escaped assassination.

I will continue with the list.

The same day Bajram Kelmendi and his children were killed, Serbian police forces killed a professor at Prishtina University, Latif Berisha, who was the chairman of the DLK for the city of Mitrovica. At the same time, Agim Hajrizi, who was the chairmen of the Assembly of the Union of Independent Trade Unions in Kosovo was also executed along with his mother, Nazmie and his son Ilir, who had not yet turned 13 years old. The Serbian police officer Nenad Pavicevic was charged with these murders.

Nenad Pavicevic did not show up at court in the proceedings against him, and he was sentenced in absentia to 20 years in prison.[1] Not only was he absent on the day of the court session, he did not serve any time in prison, and he is still missing.

Incredibly, even after being sentenced for these killings, Nenad Pavicevic's name still appears on the list of civilians murdered by the KLA.[2]

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[1] Blic, 'Oružje kupovano od policije i vojske' http://www.blic.rs/stara_arhiva/hronika/25048/Oruzje-kupovano-od-policije-i-vojske

[2] Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, cited book, Terrorist acts of Albanian terrorist groups in Kosovo and Metohija, p. 921, ordinal numbers rendor 232, 233, 234 and 235

Armed "paramilitaries" in civilian clothes together with policemen close to three executed Albanian civilians in Fushe Kosovo

The refusal of some to accept the Serbian fabrications that aimed at blaming the KLA for the committed crimes ordered by the Serbian Secret Service is interpreted by Dick Marty and the above-mentioned sponsors as, "A lack of political will to reveal the truth about these incidents."

What lack of political will does Dick Marty speak about in his report? The lack of political will to admit that officials lied about these crimes and lost evidence that pointed to the real criminals?

Fifteen years after the crimes were committed in Mitrovica, EULEX arrested Oliver Ivanovic, the leader of the Serbian Civic Initiative (SCI),[1] who disingenuously accused the KLA of killing civilians, especially those who were said to be loyal to the Republic of Serbia.

This Serbian political leader was the commander of the police station in Mitrovica during the war in Kosovo under the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Oliver Ivanovic, in

[1] SDP akronym of Sloboda, Demokracija, Pravda (Freedom, Democracy, Justice)

cooperation with Serbian police officers Dragolub Delibasic, Ilija Vujacic, Nebojsa Vujacic and Aleksandar Lazovic had proved his "political will" in executing Fatmir Mustafa, Skender Paqarada, Avni Abazi, Mehmet Sefari, Isa Mustafa, Xhemshit Smajli, Behxhet Ferizi, Mentor Mehani and Shefki Kosumi.[1]

The accusation by Dick Marty that the Albanian and Kosovar authorities lacked political will is copied from politicians like Oliver Ivanovic, who had the "political will" to kill innocent civilians and to find the murderers among the KLA.

The chapter dedicated to the Rambouillet Conference covered the increasing intensity of the crimes against Albanians and the official accusations that Albanian terrorists were behind these killings.

In the 2000 edition of the *White Book*, numbers 170 through 231 listed all the Albanian civilians killed during this period. Serbian propaganda described these innocent victims as Albanians who were killed by the KLA in retaliation for their loyalty to Serbia. Several of these were young men and women: 17-year-old Sebahate Zukaj, 18-year-old Vlora Humolli, 20-year-old Agon Ajeti, 20-year-old Xhemajl Smaci, 20-year-old Driton Loku, who was the son of the prominent activist for the national cause Gafurr Loku, 23-year-old Adriana Abdullahu, a young stage actress, and many other young people who were unlikely to have demonstrated their "loyalty" towards the Republic of Serbia. The Serbian Secret Service killed civilians in order to stigmatize the KLA as a terrorist organization that murdered its own people for showing loyalty to the Republic of Serbia. This is more than a single crime; the Serbians murdered civilians, falsely accused the KLA, and they insulted the memory of the dead by claiming that they were traitors to the Albanian cause. The Serbians claimed that Fehmi Agani, the

[1] Albeu, Ja krimet për të cilat akuzohet Ivanoviq
http://www.albeu.com/kosove/ja-krimet-per-te-cilat-dyshohet-ivanoviq/139665/
Le Figaro, Kosovo/crimes de guerre: un dirigeant arrêté, 28.01.2014
http://www.lefigaro.fr/flash-actu/2014/01/28/97001-20140128FILWWW00292-kosovocrimes-de-guerre-un-dirigeant-arrete.php

Serbian policemen Ilija Vujosevic and Dejan Djetlov killed in "civilian clothes"

Vice President of the DLK and a representative of the Kosovo Albanian delegation at the Rambouillet Conference, was loyal to the government in Belgrade. They claimed that Gafurr Loku, an activist for the Albanian cause who was persecuted and served eight and a half years in prison for his commitment to demanding Albanian national rights was loyal to the government in Belgrade.[1] And they claimed that Agim Hajrizi, Latif Berisha, Bajram Kelmendi, and many other activists for Albanian independence in Kosovo were loyal to the government in Belgrade! For the Serbian Secret Service, murdering these brave men was not enough. They listed these heroes of Kosovo as "loyal to Serbia" in an attempt to blacken their names and destroy the memory of their work for the cause.

[1] On January 21, 1973 sentenced to 5 years in prison, while on August 16, 1982, sentenced to 3 years and 6 months in prison.

Unfortunately, the ones who drafted these lists and disseminated them in political, diplomatic, and media circles were confident that few foreign readers knew the names of Fehmi Agani, Gafurr Loku, Agim Hajrizi, Latif Berisha, Bajram Kelmendi, or any other Albanian civilian who was murdered and then said to be victims of the KLA. For most readers in the West, the names of these victims and the circumstances of their assassination are unknown. In this context it is understandable that some readers, in the absence of accurate information, could be victims of Serbian propaganda. However, journalists, government officials, and other influential individuals like Dick Marty do not have that excuse. These opinion leaders had accurate information available to them. They simply ignored it or chose not to believe it. They were not interested in knowing the truth. They were only interested in finding anything they could which would justify their suspicions that the Americans supported the mafia and criminal groups in Kosovo in order to set up a pretext for their intervention in Europe.

Dick Marty expressed gratitude[1] to the only source that told him what he wanted to hear: the special war crimes prosecutor in Belgrade who offered a vehicle, an interpreter, and the version of events that suited his needs. The testimony and evidence from UNMIK, from the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, and in particular from the Albanians was disappointing for Dick Marty. Marty was disgusted at the lack of cooperation from the Kosovar and Albanian authorities in obtaining information about the fates of missing Serbs and blamed the population of Kosovo itself because they did not provide information about the mass graves of the Serbian victims.[2] In other words, Marty was disgusted because they contradicted Belgrade's fiction about the events in Kosovo.

Mass graves of Serbian civilians killed? Hypocrisy in its boldest form!

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[1] The Report, paragraph 18
[2] The Report, paragraph 14, note 8

In the final list published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia in March, 2000 for the period from January 1, 1998 to June 10, 1999 there were 75 Serbian civilians who were killed. For each case the book states the place of the killing and their gravesites.

261. Fljora Šabani from the village of Vlaštica (Gnjilane). Killed on 1 May 1999 in this village.

262. Flore Šabani from the village of Vlaštica (Gnjilane). Killed on 1 May 1999 in this village.

263. Flore Šabani from the village of Vlaštica (Gnjilane). She was killed on 1 May 1999 in this village.

264. Nadjija Bunjaku (1927) – from Gnjilane. Killed on 7 May 1999 at about 01:30 a.m. in Gnjilane.

265. Ahmet Kokolari (1925) – from Štimlje. Killed on 10 May 1999 in Štimlje at his house.

266. Ismailj Ademi (1916) – from the village of Košare (Uroševac). Killed on 14 May 1999 at his home, together with his wife, Fatima.

267. Fatima Ademi (1918) – from the village of Košare (Uroševac). Killed on 14 May 1999 at her home, together with her husband Ismailj.

268. Hasan Ademi (1909) – from the village of Košare (Uroševac). Killed on 14 May 1999 at his home together with Ismailj and Fatima Ademi.

269. Rahim Rahmoni (1928) – from the village of Jerli Sadovina (Vitina). Killed on 16 May 1999 at about 12:50 p.m. in this village.

List of Albanian civilians allegedly killed by the KLA[1]

There was not a single reference to mass graves in the book compiled by the Milosevic regime. When the book listed the 100 murdered civilians whose killers (KLA terrorists) were "known" although the victims themselves were unidentified, the book noted the specific places were their bodies were found; the existence of mass graves was not mentioned.

Dick Marty propagated the fiction that "mass graves of Serbian civilians" existed in Kosovo. Not only was this report false, it was more extreme even than the account of the Milosevic regime propagandists.

If Marty and his anti-American colleagues cared to see the full truth of these lists, they would have been able to ascertain that there was something wrong. Even without knowing the specific persons on these

[1] Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, cited book, *Terrorist acts of Albanian terrorist groups in Kosovo and Metohija*, p.923

lists, the numbers 261, 262, and 263 should raise doubts in any attentive reader. The same person, allegedly killed by the KLA, appears 261st as Fljora Shabani. The name Flore Shabani is listed 262nd and 263rd. The date and place of the killing is the same for each entry. The date of birth is missing in all three cases, which is unusual for these lists because in most instances they published the date of birth.

If Marty and his colleagues really wanted to know the truth, they would have visited the village of Vlastice, a Serbian toponym for the village of Llashtica in the Municipality of Gjilan. Here they should have asked about the death of the person who was listed three times in the report of the Serbian Secret Service. It would not have been difficult at all to find this village because it is only one village called Vlastice (Llashtice) in Kosovo. If they had gone there, they would have learned the truth about the massacre in this village in April 30, 1999. They would have found out that a 13-year-old girl named Vlora Shabani was in fact the person listed Fljora Shabani and Flore Shabani. Information about the tragedy that the inhabitants of Llashtica suffered was available to anyone who cared to inquire.

Two weeks after Serbian forces killed Ali Selimi, Enver Murseli, Ymer Rashiti, Lulzim Musliu, Rukije Ramushi, Habibe Ramushi, Nezir Ramushi, Xhyzide Hasani and Lirim Shabani[1] on April 30, 1999, the second act of the tragedy in the village began.

On this day, during the attacks by Serbian forces, the inhabitants of Llashtica who were not able to escape from the village were forced to gather in one of the houses and were executed. Serbian forces killed Hysen Hyseni, Ajshe Hyseni, Fazli Hyseni, Arife Hyseni, Driton Hyseni, Mirije Hyseni, Blerim Halili, Rifat Shabani, Selami Shabani, Zijavere Shabani, Fisnik Shabani, Sylejman Ibishi and Xhavit Berisha.

After the execution of the villagers, the Serbian forces set the houses with the bodies of the murdered civilians inside on fire in order to hide the evidence. After the Serbians burned them, bulldozers leveled the

[1] The killing occured on april 13th, 1999
See: http://botasot.info/kosova/289507/deli-hyseni-deshmitari-qe-i-pa-te-gjitha-krimet/

houses. In this operation, Serbian forces burned 123 houses and 137 outbuildings. They plundered 90 tractors, 120 motorized cultivators, 3 harvesters, 3 vans, one truck, 130 cars, and 680 animals.[1]

In this tragedy, through the fire and smoke of the burning houses and bodies, wounded so severely that the Serbian forces thought they were dead, five people, Vlora Shabani, Deli Hyseni, Drita Hyseni, Ymer Ibishi, and Nehat Shabani managed to survive.

Thirteen-year-old Vlora Shabani was not dead. She survived her wounds and is a living witness to the horror when the Serbian forces killed her father Selami (the village teacher), her mother Zijavere, her brother Fisnik, who was only 3 years old, and her grandfather Rifat. Marty and company did not ask why this girl appeared on the list of the civilians killed by the KLA. Had they done so, they would have learned the real reason that her name did not appear. Fljora Shabani and Flore Shabani were deleted from the list of the victims attributed to Albanian terrorists in the 2001 edition of the *White Book*.

The truth about this case continued with the names that followed on this list. This would have led to another truth. Naxhije Bunjaku aged 72, and 264th on the list, was killed by Serbian paramilitary members on May 7, 1999 in Gjilan. At 1:30 AM three members of the Serbian paramilitary, Predrag Jankoviv, Dusan Panajotovic, and Zoran Stevic burst into the home of the Bunjaku family and asked for the only son of the family: Shkelzen Bunjaku. Naxhije tried to prevent the men from entering the room of Shkelzen's children. Since they couldn't find Shkelzen, the paramilitaries executed his mother.

The Serbian Prosecution for War Crimes in Gjilan was still under the control of the Milosevic regime. They registered this murder on May 15th of the same year.[2] Predrag Jankovic, Dusan Panajotovic, and Zoran Stevic were arrested and an indictment for the murder[3] was filed.

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[1] Ibid.
[2] File KI. 13/99.
[3] Indictment P.P.16/99.

After the withdrawal of Serbian forces from Kosovo, the Serbian prosecution for war crimes kept complete silence on this and other crimes.

The Serbian Prosecution for War crimes did nothing about the case of 74-year-old Ahmet Kokollari,[1] executed by Serbian forces in his home; about Ismajl Ademi,[2] an 83-year-old disabled man who refused to leave the village; his 81-year-old wife Fatime[3] who stayed with her husband; or 90-year-old Hasan Ademi.[4] These elderly Albanian civilians were executed because they refused to leave Kosovo. If the Serbian Prosecution for War Crimes had been interested in investigating these crimes, they would know that 71-year-old Rrahim Rrahmani[5] was not from the village of *Sodovine of Jerlive*, in the municipality of Vitia, but from the village of Verban of the same municipality. Rrahmani, a civilian, was killed in front of his house during the ethnic cleansing operations in Kosovo.

The Serbian prosecutors were not interested in discovering the truth because it would have implicated the real perpetrators who committed the crimes in Kosovo and were never held accountable. The Serbian Prosecution for War Crimes had a special responsibility to acknowledge what was done to the Albanian civilians of Kosovo and to make sure that the perpetrators were punished.

Instead, there was silence about the real criminals. Rather than facing up to the truth, the Serbian War Crimes Prosecutor's office encouraged Dick Marty, Clint Williamson and others to praise their organization for helping them to illuminate the crimes of the "Albanian terrorists."

This hypocritical prosecution presented the Serbian public with the preposterous testimony of a protected witness who claimed that he was a former KLA soldier who had removed the heart of a Serb

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[1] Ordinal number 265
[2] Ordinal number 286
[3] Ordinal number 287
[4] Ordinal number 288
[5] Ordinal number 289

with his Kalashnikov bayonet. After this horrific act, the witness claimed that he had transported the heart to the Rinas airport to hand it over to a Turkish tradesman to be sold to clients who would pay a lot of money. As we saw earlier, the attempt to manipulate this witness on the TV show *Anatomy of Crime* revealed the foolishness of the fabrications of the Serbian prosecution against KLA leaders.

This same Prosecutor suspended the indictment against Goran Radosavljevic, also known as Guri, the notorious commander of the Learning Center at Petrovo Selo where the Bytyqis[1] met their fate. This same Prosecutor prepared indictments of Sreten Popovic, Milos Stojanovic, Aleksandar Nikolic, and Dejan Stamenkovic in such a way that a later court declared them as innocent of the murder of the Bytyqi brothers. This same Prosecutor dismissed the lawsuit of the Independent Journalists of Serbia against journalists of Radio Television Belgrade, of Radio Television Novi Sad, of the newspapers *Politika* and *Vecernje Novosti* and all those who served up warmongering propaganda during the break-up of the Yugoslav Federation. This same Prosecutor dismissed the lawsuit of the Independent Journalists of Serbia against Milovan Dracun for his facilitation of false testimony with the forced confession of Bekim Mazreku in the case of the Klecka Crematorium.[2] Even more absurdly, the deputy prosecutor of the Serbian Prosecution for War Crimes Bruno Vekaric, made an appearance on TV to stand in for the "protected witness" to human organ trafficking.

Praising the Serbian Prosecution for War Crimes for the assistance they provided to Dick Marty and Clint Williamson was risible considering the bias of the information sources on which both relied. These men were, respectively, the reporter of the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe for the preparation of the report on trafficking in human organs

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[1] The case was discussed in details in Chapter Three of Part One of the book.

[2] The complete lawsuit of the Association of Indepedent Journalists can be consulted on this website: http://www.vreme.com/cms/view.php?id=875112&print=yes

in Kosovo and the prosecutor in charge of clearing the claims in this report. These two men had to have been aware of the extreme prejudice of their sources, but they chose to use them anyway, utterly disregarding their responsibilities to the court and to international justice.

Instead of drafting charges against the perpetrators of war crimes in Kosovo, the Serbian prosecution assisted Dick Marty, Clint Williamson and other prosecutors who were pursuing false accusations against the KLA in the service of their vendetta against the Americans and NATO.

In the absence of action from the Serbian War Crimes Prosecution, the Humanitarian Law Center in Belgrade is making efforts to bring about justice for the victims of war crimes in Kosovo.

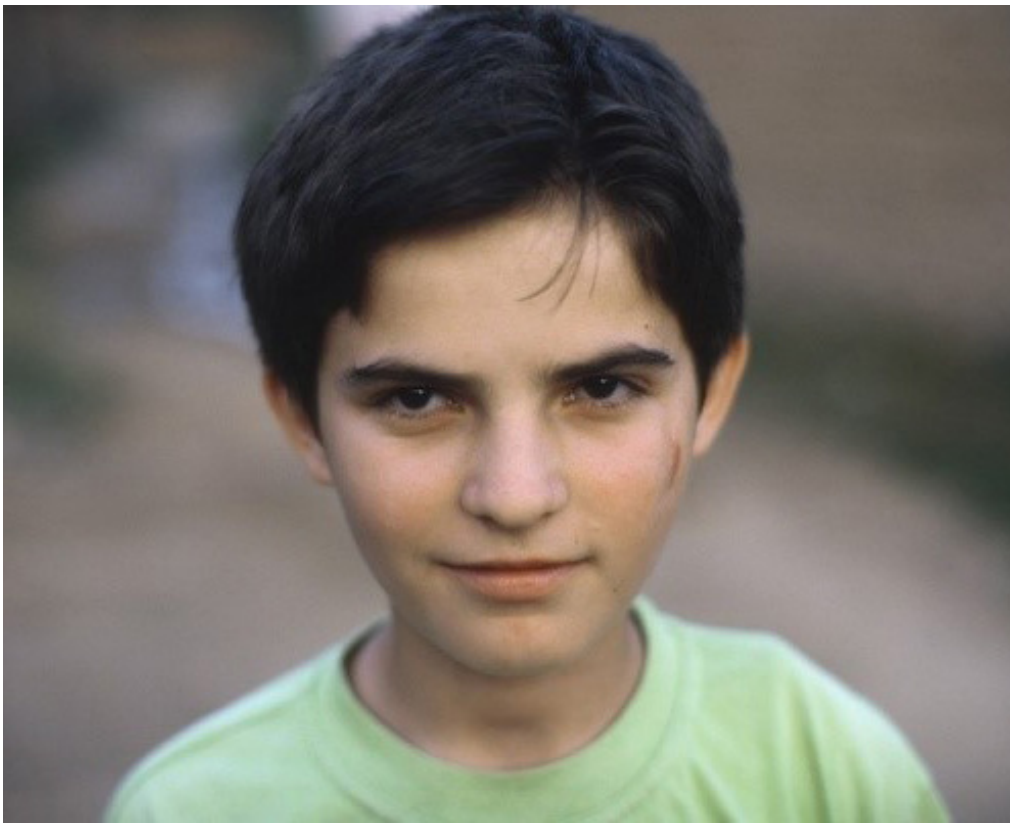
It is the Humanitarian Law Center, which on March 8 2013 filed criminal charges against seven persons for war crimes against the civilian population in Peja. On March 26, 1999 in this city, Serbian forces killed 74 Albanian civilians including four women.[1]

On March 14 2013, the Humanitarian Law Center filed criminal charges against a man who was identified as killing two Albanian civilians in the village of Krusha e Vogel. In the lawsuit it is noted that from March 25 to 28, Serbian forces killed 660 Albanian civilians of whom 318 are still missing.[2]

On June 4 2013, the Humanitarian Law Center filed charges against several members of the Yugoslav Army who on May 12, 1999, killed three civilians. In the lawsuit it was noted that during the month of May, 1999, in the town of Peja 219 Albanian civilians were killed among whom were 42 women and 12 minors.[3]

On June 18, 2013 the Humanitarian Law Center filed criminal charges against four members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Serbia who were identified as having killed nine Albanian civilians in the district of Vushtrria. In this lawsuit it was noted that Serbian forces

[1] http://www.hlc-rdc.org/?p=22643
[2] http://www.hlc-rdc.org/?p=22679
[3] http://www.hlc-rdc.org/?p=23090



Vlora Shabani, the survivor from the village Llashtice

killed 403 Albanian civilians, of whom 58 were women and 10 minors.[1]

I will not continue with other charges filed by the Humanitarian Law Center of Serbia or by other organizations. However, in this context it is important to note that the Serbian war crimes prosecutors did not do the work that they were charged with completing. Rather, through their actions, which are derived from the old operational style of Milosevic's regime, the Serbian prosecution became a major barrier to the delivery of justice. The praise that Dick Marty and Clint Williamson lavished on the Serbian prosecution is particularly egregious. This is a body that was tasked with the pursuit of justice but failed to pursue charges against the

[1] http://www.hlc-rdc.org/?p=23342

murderers in Kosovo, clinging instead to inventions inherited from the old regime.

If the failure of the Serbian Prosecution for War Crimes to pursue justice were not enough, there is worse to follow. As we shall see, the actions of Maurizio Salustro, the former head of the Department for War Crimes in Kosovo, are scandalous.

POST SCRIPT

Since Italian prosecutor Maurizio Salustro arrived in Kosovo, initially under UNMIK and later under EULEX, he did not file a single indictment against the Serbian criminals who had committed crimes in Kosovo. All of his persecutions and lawsuits were directed against the leaders of the Kosovo Liberation Army.

Salustro made many legal assaults against KLA leaders in particular operational zones. On January 12 2011, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe adopted Dick Marty's report on Kosovo, and this decision mobilized prosecutor Maurizio Salustro to an unprecedented level of activity. Salustro was tasked by EULEX to be the chief of the Department for War Crimes in Kosovo, and in March 2011, one month after the adoption of Dick Marty' report in the Council of Europe, Maurizio Salustro ordered the arrest of Fatmir Limaj and nine other fighters from the KLA's operational zone in Pashtriku. Fatmir Limaj was one of the best-known KLA commanders, and after the end of the war he was a founder of the Democratic Party of Kosovo. He became its vice president and head of the parliamentary group of the party in the Kosovo Assembly.

Eight years earlier, on February 17 2003, Carla Del Ponte, chief prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, had filed an indictment against Fatmir Limaj.[1] At the time

[1] See in details about the trial against Fatmir Limaj at: UN, ICTY, Limaj et al. (IT-03-66) http://www.icty.org/case/limaj/4

this indictment was made public, Fatmir Limaj happened to be on a private visit to Slovenia. He surrendered to Slovenian authorities and asked them to accompany him to The Hague to face international justice. The trial against him, based on the charges compiled with the assistance of Serbian sources, began on November 15 2004. On November 30, 2005 after a year of reviewing the case, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia declared Fatmir Limaj innocent. On September 27 2007, the appeals chamber refused Carla Del Ponte's appeal against this decision and confirmed the acquittal of Fatmir Limaj.

Fatmir Limaj returned to Kosovo a free man before Del Ponte published the book that gave opponents of Kosovo's independence details about her theory of human organ trafficking. Although Fatmir Limaj had never been deployed in the Drenica operational zone, in Carla Del Ponte's book and Dick Marty's report[1] he appears as one of the members of the "Drenica Group." This fabrication was published in the *White Books* of the Serbian Secret Service years before Carla Del Ponte's book and Dick Marty's report were published.

The presentation of Fatmir Limaj[2] as a member of the "Drenica Group" by Carla Del Ponte, Dick Marty and other sponsors of the Serbian Secret Service propaganda, reveals how thoroughly these authors plagiarized Serbian "secrets" that were in fact, publicly disseminated by Belgrade to anyone who wished for them.

Relying exclusively on sources that were provided by the Belgrade regime and its sponsors, on August 25 2011, Serbian war crimes prosecutor Maurizio Salustro brought charges against Fatmir Limaj, Nexhmi Krasniqi, Naser Krasniqi, Naser Shala, Sabit Shala, Refi Mazreku, Arben Krasniqi, Shaban Shala, Behlul Limaj and Besim Shurdhaj.

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[1] Dick Marty's Report, paragraphs 25, 68 and 72

[2] The same is could be attributed to Xhavit Haliti and many other KLA personalities who have not been a part of the structures of the Drenica Operational Zone and who by the Serbian Secret Service are classified as from this zone and this fabrication is disseminated in many other books that I discussed above.

These ten members of the KLA went on trial on November 11 2011, and after reviewing all the evidence provided by both sides, the district court of Prishtina dismissed all charges, and the accused were declared innocent and released on May 2, 2012.[1]

Maurizio Salustro appealed this decision, and on November 20 2012, the Supreme Court of Kosovo returned the case for retrial, which began on April 13 2013.

While the retrial of Fatmir Limaj and nine other KLA soldiers was taking place at the Municipal Court of Mitrovica, on May 23 2013, Maurizio Salustro issued an arrest warrant against Sulejman Selimi. This warrant included Selimi, former commander of the General Staff of the KLA and Kosovo's ambassador to Tirana; Sami Lushtaku, former commander of the operational zone of Drenica and elected Mayor of Skenderaj in free elections in 2009; as well as five soldiers of this operational zone: Sahit Jashari, Jahir Demaku, Zeqir Demaku, Hysni Thaci and Avni Zabeli.[2] In court, these prominent KLA members were described as the "Drenica Group," a label originally used pejoratively in the *White Book* and subsequently by the writers who disseminated its content in the press. Unfortunately, the presentation of these commanders and members of the KLA as members of the "Drenica Group" dominated the articles and TV shows covering this case. The name was so widely disseminated that it was naturalized as a fact rather than seen as a persuasive meme fabricated by the Serbian Secret Service to stigmatize[3] the KLA. The court of appeal decided that the seven members of the KLA known as the "Drenica Group" were to be held under house arrest until the start of the trial. Although no leader or KLA soldier had ever escaped to avoid facing justice, Maurizio Salustro appealed the decision for house arrest.

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[1] Telegrafi, *Kush është Salustro?*
http://www.telegrafi.com/lajme/kush-eshte-salustro-2-34528.html

[2] Radio Free Europe, *Arrestohet "Grupi i Drenicës"*
http://time.ikub.al/08408663ee/0c42db9c9fa4ecbf7152f04745cecdbc/Lajm_Arrestohet-Grupi-i-Drenices-.aspx
Shekulli online

[3] This aspect was discussed in the beginning of Part Two

Although they represented no flight risk, Salustro insisted that these men be imprisoned. To placate Salustro, the court of appeal reversed their earlier ruling and the accused were remanded in custody. On May 31 2013, the seven former members of the KLA were arrested and taken to prison.[1]

Simultaneous to his action against the former KLA members from the Drenica operational zone, Maurizio Salustro continued his second judicial process against Fatmir Limaj and nine other soldiers of the operational zone of Pashtriku. However, after five months, on September 17, 2013 the district court of Prishtina again dismissed the unfounded charges of Maurizio Salustro and acquitted Fatmir Limaj and the other soldiers of the KLA.[2]

Even after the second acquittal, Maurizio Salustro again applied to the court of appeals. As I write, no decision has been reached on this appeal.

Meanwhile, on December 6, 2013 the trial[3] of Sulejman Selimi, Sami Lushtaku, and the other members of the Drenica operational zone began.

A month later on January 9 2014, Maurizio Salustro announced that he was leaving his position as chief of the Department for War Crimes in Kosovo without giving any explanation for his actions either at the time or subsequently when he had left the area. Three months later the media reported that Maurizio Salustro was employed in Belgrade as an adviser to the Serbian Prosecution for War Crimes.[4]

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1 Time, *Grupi i Drenicës pas hekurave, përfundon aksioni i EULEX-it*
http://time.ikub.al/08408663ee/62fa58ced7b41ed8155b3985927aa9e4/Lajm_Grupi-i-Drenices-pas-hekurave-perfundon-aksioni-i-ELUEX-it.aspx

2 *Bota Sot*, *Shpallen të pafajshëm Limaj dhe të tjerët*
http://botasot.info/kosova/241792/shpallen-te-pafajshem-limaj-dhe-te-tjeret-festohet-me-fishekzjarre/

3 Time, *Nis gjyqi ndaj grupit të Drenicës*
http://time.ikub.al/fefd5c1a7d/8bd707a8da26f2a8fc9022b1342aa7f1/Lajm_Nis-gjyqi-ndaj-grupit-te-Drenices.aspx
Grupi i Drenicës deklarohet i pafajshëm
http://time.ikub.al/fefd5c1a7d/97ce4bff535683f82b88c46f73a51c70/Lajm_Filloi-seanca-degjimore-kunder-Grupit-te-Drenices.aspx

4 Koha, Ish Kryeprokurori i EULEX-it punësohet në Beograd,
http://koha.net/?id=27&l=4422

An Internet search revealed hundreds of articles in which citizens of Kosovo express their revulsion at this action of Salustro.

For months, neither Maurizio Salustro nor the Serbian War Crimes Prosecutor gave any explanation. However, when the corruption scandal[1] within EULEX broke and when the head of European diplomacy engaged the French lawyer Jean-Paul Jacqué to investigate[2] this scandal, the Serbian Prosecutor for War Crimes reacted by claiming that, "No suspect from the EULEX corruption scandal is employed within this prosecution."[3]

The truth about the corruption scandal and Maurizio Salustro's employment by the Serbian Prosecution for War Crimes remains to be seen. However, as of this moment, neither the Serbian Prosecution for War Crimes nor the international prosecutors who came to Kosovo, has made any progress toward bringing these criminals to justice.

Fifteen years after the war in Kosovo, the families of the 1,392 children, the 1,739 women and of approximately 10,000 Albanian civilians of all ages who were victims of the genocidal policy in Kosovo are still waiting for justice to be done. The families of 1,657[4] persons who are still missing live with the daily anguish of having no answers about the circumstances of their disappearance.

Fifteen years after the end of the war in Kosovo, 20,400 Albanian women, raped in service of Belgrade's genocidal policy are still waiting for the punishment of their attackers. I cannot know what the result of the European Union's investigation will be and whether the corrupt

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1 For the corruption in EULEX see: *Scandale de corruption…* http://www.courrierinternational.com/article/2014/11/03/scandale-de-corruption-l-eulex-trop-proche-du-milieu-kosovar

2 RFI, *Kosovo: l'UE nomme un juriste français dans l'affaire Eulex* (Kosovë: EU appoints a French lawyer in the EULEX affair) http://www.rfi.fr/europe/20141113-kosovo-ue-nomme-juriste-francais-affaire-eulex-corruption-jean-paul-jacque/

3 Blic, *Vekarić: Osumnjičeni Euleksov tužilac nikada nije radio kod nas* (EULEX suspects have never worked for us) http://www.blic.rs/Vesti/Politika/456670/Vekaric-Osumnjiceni-Euleksov-tuzilac-nikada-nije-radio-kod-nas

4 http://koha.net/?id=27&l=33139

prosecutors who protected the real perpetrators of war crimes in Kosovo will be exposed. However, from what we have seen to date, it is clear that impunity must end for the criminals who committed the greatest atrocity in Europe since World War II. The wounds from the genocidal war of the Milosevic regime cannot be healed without a complete illumination of all the crimes. The remnants of the old regime and the sponsors of their poisonous notions stigmatizing the KLA as a "terrorist organization" have become the main obstacles to revealing the whole truth, which would bring Serbia to its knees[1]: the long list of Serbian crimes against Albanians in Kosovo and against their own countrymen in order to blame the Albanians. Bringing down Milosevic's Serbia, whose logic still prevails in Serbia's state institutions, is as an indispensable condition for the triumph of democracy in Serbia and could pave the way for reconciliation between the nations. For this reason, only the full publication of the list of crimes committed by the Serbian Secret Service against Serbian, Albanian and other civilians would expose what happened in Kosovo to the world. These are the crimes that so concerned the former head of the Serbian secret service, Radomir Markovic. A list that revealed these monstrous crimes would accelerate the triumph of justice by creating a climate that made the prosecution and punishment of the real criminals unavoidable. The publication of these existing lists about the crimes committed on the orders of Milosevic's strategic headquarters would also reveal the falsified lists that were compiled in order to manipulate local and international opinion. Finally, publishing these lists would also reveal the corrupt work of the international prosecutors who brought charges based solely on sources from Belgrade. The publication of these lists could remedy some of the suffering that Ramush Haradinaj, Fatmir Limaj, Sylejman Selimi, Sami Lushtaku and other KLA leaders experienced because of the charges brought against them based on this false information. The full illumination of these events

[1] Cited article from *Kurir*, *Rade Marković dao nalog* ...

would shed light on the political and ideological motives for creating the Kosovo Special Court to deal with the accusations that the leaders of the KLA committed war crimes.

It is clear that injustice knocks on the door of Kosovo. For proof, we have only to look at Clint Williamson's conference.

The statement of Chief Prosecutor Williamson was that there no evidence of human organ trafficking, and that during the three-year investigation no evidence or witnesses were found to prove the allegations of any crimes committed by the KLA. It was an egregious injustice to create a special court to adjudicate the horrific accusations against the KLA without evidence and without witnesses.

Kosovo and the entire region are crying out for justice. And only the complete disclosure, trial, and punishment of the executioners of Albanian and Serbian civilians as part of the Milosevic regime's plan for genocide will serve. Only the full illumination of the crimes and the punishment of the guilty will create the necessary conditions for reconciliation and will close this tragic chapter of the 21st century.

The accusation against the KLA of killing innocent civilians in Kosovo has been and remains the center of the propaganda fabricated by the propaganda machine of the strategic headquarters of Milosevic, where the Serbian Secret Service held sway. This propaganda was disseminated for free to historians and political scientists, philosophers and sociologists, journalists and publicists, politicians and prosecutors of both the right and the left. Among these opinion leaders there were influential individuals who mobilized to "protect Europe from American imperialism" by disseminating Belgrade's propaganda vigorously and vehemently. As a result of the work of these sponsors of Belgrade's deceptions, even today there is a proliferation of content on the Internet and in books, articles and essays that stigmatize the KLA as a "terrorist" organization that has killed innocent civilians.

To conclude, it is imperative to recall the reaction of Vuk Draskovic, the current chairman of the Serbian Renewal Movement, who was Deputy

Prime Minister of Yugoslavia and in charge of foreign affairs during the time when many of these crimes were committed. Fifteen years after the end of the war Draskovic revealed the following:

It was decided that the Serbian Secret Service commit a series of terrorist attacks which would be attributed to the KLA. The goal of these attacks was to present the KLA in front of the international community as a terrorist organization. According to some governmental sources in Serbia, the former chief of Serbian state security, Radomir Markovic, spoke of the massacre at the Panda bar and threatened to bring Serbia to its knees by publishing the list of all the crimes committed by the State Security Agency against Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo and Serbs and Muslims in Bosnia. I think that Serbia is down on its knees and will be so if we continue to be a hostage of the criminals who have committed these crimes and for as long as we hide the truth.[1]

This testimony is very significant in understanding why justice has never been served for the crimes committed against innocent civilians in Kosovo, Bosnia and Croatia. As we saw in the course of this book, the criminals of the Serbian military, police and Secret Services succeeded in preserving the structures of the old regime and reframing them as a result of the "positive" changes in Belgrade. These criminals remain at large and in power, avoiding responsibility for their misconduct through personnel transfers from one agency to another, one sector to another, one detachment to another and one ministry to another. Despite the claims of Serbian Prime Minister Aleksandar Vucic that his government pulled Serbia out of the clutches of the criminals,[2] the reality shows the opposite. Instead of being held responsible for the genocide committed under his command, Lubisa Dikovic is now the Chief of the General Staff of the Serbian Army. Serbian police colonel Goran Radosavljevic (a.k.a. Guri), after his return

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[1] Kurir, cited article, Vuk Drašković: Milošević naredio Radetu i Legiji da ubiju srpsku decu! and Kurir, Rade Marković dao nalog da se ubiju srpska deca u Peći 1998?!,

[2] E-Novine, *Srbiju smo oduzeli razbojnicima i vratili građanima* (Serbia was taken from the criminals and returned to its citizens)
http://www.e-novine.com/srbija/vesti/114337-Srbiju-smo-oduzeli-razbojnicima-vratili-graanima.html

from Libya where he fled to escape punishment for the murder of the Bytyqi brothers, was integrated into the hierarchy of the party led by Aleksandar Vucic. Many other criminals from the Milosevic regime have had similar results from this strategy.

This way of operating did nothing to "return" Serbia to its citizens as claimed by Serbian Prime Minister Aleksandar Vucic, but rather, this modus operandi continues to keep Serbia a hostage to criminals. Moreover, the continued prosperity of these war criminals and their assimilation into the "new" government of Serbia represents a real danger for the present and future of this part of the Balkans.

At the time of this writing, on December 26 2014, a Serbian citizen carrying 13 kilograms of explosives was arrested in Prishtina. The Belgrade newspapers *Kurir*[1] *and Blic*[2] wrote that this person was 46-year-old Slobodan Gavric. The papers disclosed that he works for the Serbian Ministry of Agriculture, and lives in Novi Beograd with his wife, who is employed in the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Serbia, and their two children. According to the same sources, this man, an employee of the ministry of Aleksandar Vucic's government, was arrested close to the American Embassy in Prishtina. The media speculated that he intended to use these explosives for committing assassinations at Hotel Grand, Prishtina Cathedral, and other critical targets in the city.

The final outcome of the investigation into this case remains to be seen. What I can say at this point is the fact that the arrest of Slobodan Gavric not only saved innocent lives but also prevented the attribution these attacks to the "Albanian terrorists!"

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[1] *Kurir*, *Zaplenjeno 13 kg eksploziva u Prištini : Slobodanu Gavriću mesec dana pritvora* (13 kg of explosives caught in Prishtina: a month detention for Slobodan Gavric) http://www.kurir.rs/crna-hronika/zaplenjeno-13-kg-eksploziva-u-pristini-slobodanu-gavricu-mesec-dana-pritvora-clanak-1647072

[2] Blic, OTKRIVAMO Šta se krije iza hapšenja Srbina "bombaša" u Prištini (We Discover: What lies behind the arrest of the Serb "bomber" in Prishtina) http://www.blic.rs/Vesti/Hronika/522571/OTKRIVAMO-Sta-se-krije-iza-hapsenja-Srbina-bombasa-u-Pristini

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Bardhyl Mahmuti

In 1981, Bardhyl Mahmuti was sentenced to seven years in prison for opposing the Communist Regime in Yugoslavia. After serving his sentence, he emigrated to Switzerland. There he finished his academic work at the Faculty of Political Studies at the University of Lausanne. During the war in Kosovo, he served as Diplomatic Chief for the KLA. After the war ended, he was appointed as Kosovo's Minister of Foreign Affairs. Currently he is working as an educator at the Center for Teenagers in Lausanne.

Blood Libel: Anti-Americanism and Genocide in the Kosovo War is about plan and implementation of genocide against the Albanians of Kosovo and how that genocide was denied and deflected by the Milosevic regime and its supporters in the West. Anti-Americanism mobilized communists, socialists, social-democrats and neo-fasci2sts, historians and political scientists, philosophers and sociologists, journalists and publicists, from both the left and the right in the defense of Europe from American imperialism. In deploying this defense, the Belgrade regime and its friends in the West used a number of strategies both before and after the American-led NATO intervention: they denied the genocide, minimized the number of atrocities, forced exile, and murders, and finally, claimed that the Albanians were criminals who had murdered not only Serbs, but their own people. The most insidious of these strategies was designed to divert attention from Serbian war crimes with accusations that the Albanians had engaged in human organ trafficking. The stories about organ trafficking defied all logic; while accusing Albanians of horrific crimes, the narratives were so unlikely as to be ridiculous. Despite the absurdity of these claims, they were taken seriously enough to result in domestic and international investigations, none of which found any evidence to support them. In spite of the fact that several investigations exonerated the Albanians, these stories are still in circulation among some political groups both in and outside of Serbia. The allegation of human organ trafficking is Kosovo's blood libel--fantastical unfounded accusations of monstrous crimes, the purpose of which was to distract public opinion from Serbian atrocities and justify a level of violence against the Albanians that defies imagination. The war is over, but the blood libel and other discourses against the Albanians of Kosovo still circulate. Jane Banks, Ph.D.

Warning

This book contains stories and images that some readers, and especially children, may find disturbing.